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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

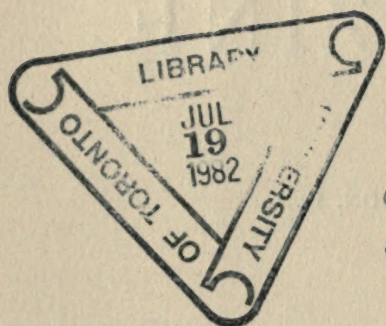
GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

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WILLIAM FRANCIS SCHEY

Labor Commissioner of New South Wales

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Pue

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The Washington Centennial

On December 12th the city of Washington celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary as the capital of the nation. Just a century ago the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to the new site on the banks of the Potomac. The centennial, observed by a reception at the white house to the governors of some twenty-four states, a military parade, and formal exercises by the senate and house of representatives in joint session, furnished a fitting occasion for reviewing the marvelous progress of the nation, typified in part by the transformation of the capital city itself from practically a wilderness in 1800 to one of the most artistically beautiful and politically influential centers of civilization in the world.

Growth of the Nation

The close of the nineteenth century is as natural a time for retrospect and comparison as the opening of the twentieth is for planning and prophecy. Far more than ordinary interest, therefore, attaches to the results of the twelfth census. It serves as a basis not only for noting the percentage of increase during a decade, but for centennial comparisons of the utmost significance. The total population in 1900 is 76,295,220; in 1890 it was 62,622,250; an increase of 22 per cent. During the pre-

vious decade, 1880 to 1890, the percentage of increase was 24.86. Our population in 1800 was 5,308,483; the increase during the century being 1340 per cent. Our national territory has increased during the same period from 909,050 to 3,846,595 square miles. The sixteen states that formed the federal union in 1800 have increased to forty-five, with the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma and Indian territory, also Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and several scattered Pacific islands, in addition.

It is interesting to compare this growth of population with that of some of the principal European countries during the century. In 1800 the population of Great Britain and Ireland was 15,570,000, now it is about 37,000,000; France in 1800, 27,720,000, now about 38,000,000; Germany in 1800, 22,330,000, now about 46,000,000; Austria-Hungary in 1800, 21,230,000, now about 41,000,000. In other words, the population of Great Britain and Ireland has increased about two and a half times, of France about one-third; Germany and Austria-Hungary have about doubled, while the population of the United States has increased almost fifteen times.

Analyzing the details of the census, New York state still remains in the lead, the population being 7,268,009; in 1890 it was 5,997,853. Pennsylvania is second with 6,301,365, as compared with 5,258,014 in 1890. Illinois is in third place, as in 1890, the population having increased from 3,826,351 to 4,821,550. Ohio has increased from 3,672,316 to 4,157,545, and Missouri from 2,679,184 to 3,107,117. These states retain the same relative rank as in 1890, but Texas now takes the place of Massachusetts as sixth in size. The population of Texas has increased from 2,235,523 to 3,048,828; that of Massachusetts from 2,238,943 to 2,805,346. Although Massachusetts thus falls behind Texas, the rate

of increase in the Bay State is larger than that for the whole country and indicates that the westward trend of population, while it does not actually diminish, is not depleting the East. Indeed, there are many evidences that the growth of manufactures and use of more scientific methods of agriculture in the East is producing a marked decline in the tendency of native Americans to migrate to the West, and stopping the multiplication of New England abandoned farms.

Of course, however, the most rapid rates of increase are in the far western states, although the growth in actual numbers is relatively small. Nevada is the only state in the union which shows a decline in population. This state contained 45,761 people in 1890 and only 42,334 in 1900; a population less than that of the city of Yonkers, New York, although represented in the national councils by one congressman and two senators.

**Progress in
Wage Conditions**

Although the census statistics of wealth, industries and labor are not yet complete, other investigations and sources of information testify to a highly gratifying progress during the decade just ended,—a progress which would have been far more impressive but for the severe industrial depression from 1893 to 1897. United States Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright has recently investigated the average wages for the country and finds a general increase since 1891 of 3.43 per cent. In many industries the increase has been more like 20 to 30 per cent., but Commissioner Wright's average is for the whole country. In considering its apparent smallness it must be remembered that only last year, 1899, did wages recover sufficiently from the period of depression to equal the rates of 1892. The seven years from 1893 to 1899 were an arbitrary interruption and period of stagnation in what might have been a normal and

healthy forward movement in labor conditions. The significant consideration to-day is not so much the literal amount of increase since 1890 as it is the fact that a satisfactory rate of progress has at last been restored.

Status of
American Labor
Organization

Even more significant than the actual wage progress is the increasing extent, influence and economic good sense of the organized labor movement in this country. The best general representation of this movement is the American Federation of Labor, whose membership includes unions in practically all the most important trades in the country. The federation apparently was never in a more flourishing and healthy condition. According to the December number of the *American Federationist*, it:

"... has now affiliated to it no less than 82 national and international unions, with 9,494 subordinate local unions, having an aggregate membership of 804,050. In addition to these before-mentioned general unions there are at present date of writing 1,051 independent chartered local unions having 79,150 members, making a total of 10,545 unions with a membership of 883,200. These figures are exclusive of the membership indirectly affiliated through the medium of the central labor unions of 205 cities and 16 state federations of labor. Thus it would be safe to conclude that the grand total membership of our organization approximates one million members in good standing, or nearly four-fifths of the entire known number of trade unionists on this continent. Each succeeding year this immense mass becomes more closely knitted together and more clearly recognizes its mutual interdependence. With the establishment and growth of adequate protective and beneficial funds, the influence exercised by such a body will prove irresistible."

A membership of one million means that fully five millions of the American people are directly interested and involved in the labor organizations of the country, not counting the extra 20 per cent. in unassociated independent unions. Obviously, the few old-school doctrinaires who still want labor organizations abolished are to be classed permanently with the Mrs. Partingtons.

The growing economic good sense of the organized labor movement could hardly have better evidence than the unanimous reelection of Samuel Gompers as president of the federation, at its annual convention held in Louisville, Kentucky, early in December. Mr. Gompers' remarks in opening the convention reflected a point of view and spirit thoroughly appreciative of the proper economic position of labor organization in the industrial life of the nation. It contained no tinge of socialism, which it has so often been feared would capture the trade-union movement in this country.

The Paris
Exposition

The great world's fair held in Paris this year illustrated the climax of nineteenth-century progress as well as anything of a spectacular nature can illustrate achievements that have wrought their broadening influence into the very character-fibre of the nations. A formal exposition can portray the material and artistic side of the progress of civilization, but it can give only hints and suggestions of the profound psychological development that lies beneath the material surface; it cannot put into statuary, paintings and machinery the expansion of individual life, knowledge and character which is the real test of human advancement.

But of those things which an exposition can illustrate, the Paris fair was an elaborate and fairly comprehensive representation. It cost more than the Chicago exposition of 1893, but it is doubtful if the showing was so vast or so well displayed. Many of the buildings, however, were erected of durable materials, and so, while costing much more, will remain as permanent architectural adornments of Paris. The attendance at the Paris exposition was more than fifty millions, or more than double that at the Chicago fair, but it is stated in explanation that the admission fees

were reduced to practically insignificant sums, so that the actual gate receipts were probably less than at Chicago. The largest attendance at the Paris exposition on any one day was 600,000, which was exceeded in 1893, on October 9th, when 716,881 people attended the Chicago fair.

**More Delay
in China**

The last year of the century has witnessed the beginning of what will ultimately mean the complete opening up of China to western civilization, but the twentieth century will have come in before much progress is made in the settlement of the immediate terms of peace and reparation to Christendom for the Boxer outrages of last summer. It is now clear that negotiations are to proceed along more moderate lines than those laid down by Germany, and this change of attitude is generally attributed to the United States. Our state department submitted a note to the powers, late in November, suggesting compromises in respect to the peace proposals that were then being urged; and, apparently in response to these suggestions, an article, understood to have been inspired by the German government, appeared on November 28th, in the *Berliner Post*, declaring that while

"... all the powers are convinced that the ringleaders deserve death, ... the question has been raised on various sides as to whether such a measure should be insisted upon from the standpoint of political expediency. So far as Germany is concerned, she has never insisted upon the execution of specific persons, but has repeatedly declared that she laid chief emphasis upon the harmonious action of all the powers in punishing the guilty. This attitude corresponds with the guiding principle of Germany's policy, which seeks, above all else, to preserve the harmony of the powers."

Nevertheless, according to the general consensus of reports, Germany's troops in China are doing their best to embitter the Chinese and make settlement difficult. Harassing expeditions, with the object of taking booty or punishing groups of Boxer offenders, are per-

mitted if not literally ordered by Count von Waldersee. The latest of these, in which the French shared but afterwards desisted, is the confiscation and removal of the elaborate astronomical instruments from the Peking observatory. General Chaffee protested against this so vigorously that von Waldersee returned his note unrecognized, as a breach of official etiquette. Perhaps it was somewhat brusque, but the American people will feel that here was a case where politeness was more honored in the breach than in the observance. General Chaffee's conduct of American military operations in China thus far has been eminently satisfactory. Rigid discipline is maintained among our troops and, during the prolonged period of looting after the capture of Peking, our men were strictly ordered to take no part in the depredations. Presumably there were violations of the rule, but they seem not to have been numerous or serious.

As the situation now stands, formal negotiations between the foreign ministers and the Chinese government, represented by Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching, are likely to begin within a very few days. The terms finally agreed upon are understood to be practically those proposed by Germany, summarized in our December number, with a modification of the demand for execution of specific persons and also some modification in the indemnity requirements. All the ministers except Great Britain's representative have been instructed to sign the agreement for submission of these terms to China. Just what further alteration, if any, England means to suggest before negotiations proceed, is at present an enigma.

The Pursuit
of De Wet

If one cannot admire the good judgment, it is impossible not to admire at least the valor and strategic skill of the few Boer detachments that are still resisting British arms in

South Africa. Lord Roberts being on his way home to England, General Kitchener has succeeded him in chief command. This is understood to mean, and doubtless does mean, the end of leniency in dealing with the Boers. British sentiment has been intensified in favor of rigorous measures by the discovery of a plot, in Johannesburg, in which a number of Italians, Greeks and Frenchmen were implicated, to assassinate Lord Roberts by blowing up St. Mark's church during service on Sunday, November 18th. It is thoroughly realized now that only rigorous measures can prevent these subterranean methods of prolonging the useless struggle.

General De Wet scored another brilliant success on November the 23d by capturing the British garrison of Dewetsdorp, consisting of 400 men and two guns. Lord Roberts' dispatch reporting the occurrence states that De Wet's force numbered 2,500 men, showing that where De Wet is, at least, the struggle has not quite degenerated to the guerilla stage. Dewetsdorp is in the southern part of the Orange River Colony, and only the prompt action of General Knox prevented a raid into Cape Colony. Knox succeeded in driving De Wet back to the north, but the wily Boer has thus far evaded capture. Since then, two more serious blows have been inflicted upon the British. Four companies of General Clement's fusileers, numbering more than 500 men, were captured on December 13th, near Krugersdorp, in the Transvaal, and on the same day a force of 120 cavalrymen was taken near Zastron, in the Orange River Colony. Serious as these reverses are, the Boers are apparently unable to follow up the advantage, but are compelled to release prisoners as fast as they are taken. These exploits are tributes to brilliant generalship, but their only real significance is that the war will have to be brought to an end by the slow wearing out of the resisting powers of De Wet's diminishing army.

**Kruger's Euro-
pean Mission**

Meanwhile, ex-President Kruger has served as a rallying-point of French animosity to England, and incidentally learned for a certainty that he has nothing to hope for in the way of European aid to his cause. Mr. Kruger landed at Marseilles on November 22nd, proceeded to Paris on the 23rd, thence, after a weeks' stay, to Cologne on December 2nd, and to the Hague, capital of Holland, on the 6th. In France he was everywhere received as a popular hero and the French senate voted him unanimously an expression of sympathy. This was the full extent, however, to which France gave the cooperation Kruger had virtually asked for in his speech at Marseilles. In Holland the practical results of his visit have been equally meager. The Dutch people gave him an enthusiastic welcome, and the Dutch government officially declared its sympathy but declined to take the lead in any movement to secure arbitration between Great Britain and the Transvaal. As for Germany, Emperor William let it be known that he would decline to receive Kruger, and therefore the Boer ex-president abandoned his proposed visit to Berlin. He is now expected to take up a permanent residence in Holland, and will cease to figure in world politics.

**British Policy
Outlined**

Naturally, the sessions of the British parliament, which convened on December 4th and has just adjourned for the holidays, were almost exclusively occupied with the discussion of South African affairs. The liberals, at the very outset, directed an intensely bitter attack on Joseph Chamberlain, not only on the score of his practical sponsorship for the South African war but accusing him of personal dishonesty both in the parliamentary campaign and in connection with financial interests

involved in the war. Seldom has parliament witnessed a more impressive change in the drift of sentiment than occurred when the colonial secretary's turn came to make his defence. Denial of the charges against his personal integrity was to be expected, of course, but the thing which seems practically to have destroyed the liberal opposition was his statement of the government's plans for dealing with the Transvaal and Orange River colonies. These he explained in detail in the house of commons on December 7th, summarizing the three objects of the government as follows:

"First—To end the guerilla war. It would not surprise him if the Boers had destroyed more farms than the English. Never in history had a war been waged with so much humanity. The women had only been deported for their protection. The native population was answerable for the acts of proved outrage of women and children, and it had been shown that in no case had a British soldier been justly accused. The farm burning was greatly exaggerated. Lord Roberts had only sanctioned the burning of farms as punishment in cases of complicity in the rebellion, or damage done to the railroads. The government sustained Lord Roberts absolutely. The government was bound to leave large discretion to the military.

"The second object was that when pacification was accomplished a crown government would be instituted.

"The third object was ultimate self-government."

In pursuance of this program it is proposed to institute civil government at the earliest possible moment, giving the preference to Afrikaners in the civil offices as far as practicable, and guaranteeing equal rights and liberties to every man, Boer or Englishman. The expense of the war will be met by taxation in South Africa, since it was for the benefit of the Uitlanders that the struggle was undertaken. These propositions were even cheered from the liberal benches, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had been the most vindictive of all in his attacks on Mr. Chamberlain, formally withdrew the liberal opposition. Of course, the British government cannot begin to carry out these

plans until the Boers give up the struggle. Their resistance could be understood so long as there was the least chance of success, but in the present situation it means simply the perpetuation of misery and desolation and fruitless delaying of the peaceful regeneration of the country.

**Some Details of
the November
Election**

The figures of the popular vote for president, with the exception of minor candidates, are at last practically complete and show a popular plurality for President McKinley of 847,897. This is an increase of 246,025 over his plurality in 1896. Mr. McKinley's total vote was 158,487 larger and Mr. Bryan's 87,538 smaller than in 1896.

It appears from the returns that the bulk of this republican gain comes from increased pluralities in the West and a decreased Bryan vote in the South. In the East the republican pluralities were generally lower, especially in New York (268,469 in 1896, 145,143 in 1900) and Massachusetts (173,265 in 1896, 82,988 in 1900.) In the middle West there was a substantial increase, except in Illinois, which gave President McKinley a plurality of 95,990 as compared with 142,498 in 1896. The republican plurality in 1900 in Nebraska was 7,372; in Kansas, 25,843; in South Dakota, 21,000; in Wyoming, 4,381; in Washington, 12,613; in Utah, 2,140. All of these states were carried by Bryan in 1896.

In the South the results are equally significant, and, but for the fact that they are based on a general decrease in the total vote cast, indicating wholesale neglect of the suffrage privilege, would be some indication of more wholesome political tendencies throughout that section. Bryan's plurality was less in 1900 than 1896, in Alabama by 32,871; in Florida by 940; in Mississippi by 12,776; in Louisiana by 17,974; in

Arkansas by 36,149; in Tennessee by 3,024; in South Carolina by 6,585. It was larger than in 1896, in Georgia by 12,524; in North Carolina by 5,473; in Virginia by 10,874. The net falling off in the Bryan plurality in all these states is 114,562. If Missouri and Kentucky be counted in, the total falling off is 117,231; Bryan's plurality in Missouri was 10,907 less than in 1896, but in Kentucky he won by 7,957, as against a republican plurality of 281 in 1896.

**The President's
Message**

President McKinley's message to the second session of the 56th congress, which convened on December 3rd, possessed two at least of the most familiar characteristics of Mr. McKinley's state papers—extraordinary length and comparative dearth of positive recommendations for the guidance of national policy. It is chiefly an exhaustive historical review of the problems that have confronted the administration during the past year and the way it has dealt with them, and a statement of the existing conditions at home and abroad. A large part of the message is devoted to the Chinese situation, and the familiar lines of our policy are again stated,—punishment of Boxer leaders, indemnity for losses suffered, guarantees of trade privileges and opposition to dismemberment of the empire.

A suggestion that ought by all means to be promptly and favorably acted upon is that provision be made for handling through the federal courts instead of through state courts all cases of outrages committed against aliens within the United States. The inability of the national government to guarantee any satisfaction to foreign governments in cases such as the anti-Italian outbreaks in Louisiana is an absurd anomaly. Nothing like it exists in any other country, and it has been and will be a fruitful source of misunderstanding

and ill-feeling whenever disputes of this sort come up for settlement.

Reference is made to the growth of our foreign trade, the increase in national banks under the currency law of 1900, and the saving in interest on the national debt through the refunding of bonds provided for in that measure. Reduction of the war taxes by thirty million dollars per annum is recommended. Little is suggested as to the Philippines except continuation along the lines already being pursued. The Taft commission is apparently the rock to which the president's faith is anchored, and, if only the Filipinos could be made to see the beneficence of Mr. McKinley's program of civilization as clearly as Mr. McKinley himself sees it, not another shot would be fired. Evidently the president does not expect the last shot to be fired for a long while, since he recommends increasing the standing army to 60,000 men, with authority to raise it to 100,000 when necessary, and endorses Secretary Long's request for an enlarged navy. The encouragement of American shipping is urged, although no specific measure is endorsed, and there is the familiar suggestion for legislation in control of injurious combinations in restraint of trade. The message closes with a recommendation of economy in public expenditures.

The tone of the document as a whole is optimistic, and with good reason. The nation enters upon the twentieth century under circumstances of extraordinary prosperity and promise, backed by more than one hundred years of experience with self-government along lines which in 1800 were purely experimental, distrusted everywhere outside of the United States, and not even commanding full confidence here at home. We are standing upon broader and firmer foundations to-day, but it would be a fatal mistake to assume that even now we can afford to make grave departures in

policy from the fundamental principles upon which our national existence is based.

**The First Work
of Congress**

Congress lost no time in getting to work upon measures of sufficient importance to center the attention of the country upon Washington. In the senate, discussion was begun almost immediately on the Nicaragua canal treaty and the ship subsidy bill; in the house, on the revenue reduction and army reorganization measures. The latter, providing for an army of 60,000 for the immediate future, with authority to increase it to 100,000 if necessary, passed the house on December 6th by an almost strict party vote of 166 to 133. The ship subsidy bill has been extensively and warmly debated already, its principal defenders being Senators Frye and Hanna, but its prospects are dubious in spite of the large republican majority in the senate. The proposition to spend \$9,000,000 a year for twenty years in direct bounties paid out of the treasury, a total of \$180,000,000, so distributed that there is little reason to believe that any important new shipbuilding establishments would be called into existence, is so obviously no part of recognized republican policy that senators are declining to divide along party lines for and against the bill. A measure providing for shipping protection by an additional ten per cent. duty on all goods imported in foreign vessels would be strictly in accordance with sound protective policy and involve no drain on the national treasury, but this proposition apparently must wait until the subsidy scheme has been definitely put aside.

**The Revenue
Reduction Bill**

Chairman Payne of the ways and means committee introduced the revenue reduction bill in the house on December 5th, and followed it next day with a report showing the rea-

sons for the specific lines of reduction proposed. The rule adopted in preparing the measure, according to Chairman Payne, was "to remove the more annoying taxes in the war revenue act by the entire abolition of those which were most vexatious and by a reduction of those which seemed to have proved a great burden upon the several branches of trade to which they are applied." In other words, the object is to remove as far as possible the more offensive features of an always offensive system of direct taxation, and the extent to which this has been accomplished the bill deserves hearty commendation.

Some of the most important proposed reductions are: on beer, from \$2.85 to \$2.60 per barrel; on cigars, from \$3.60 to \$3 per thousand; and entire abolition of the taxes on bequests to religious, charitable, literary or educational institutions, taxes on commercial and custom-house brokers, circuses and theaters, and the stamp taxes on proprietary medicines, perfumes, cosmetics, etc., also those on bank checks, certificates of deposit, postal money orders, express receipts, telegraph messages, deeds, insurance policies, leases, notes and mortgages. The most important taxes retained, in whole or in part, are those on beer and tobacco, wines, legacies, bankers, stock brokers, and the stamp taxes on stock and bonds of corporations, stock exchange sales, freight receipts, certificates of profit, and custom-house and warehouse entries.

The reductions are expected to cut off about \$40,000,000 of revenue per annum, and those retained it is believed will yield \$65,000,000; so that the reductions amount to about 38 per cent. of the total amount of the special war taxes. Considering that the treasury surplus for the year ending June 30th last was something over \$79,000,000, and that the estimated surplus for the current year is \$80,000,000, and for the year ending

June 30th, 1902, is about \$26,000,000, by which time it is to be hoped there can be a substantial reduction in our military expenditures, the cutting off of \$40,000,000 now seems to be amply justified. The proposed measure seems to have been prepared with unusually intelligent appreciation of scientific principles of taxation. Some effort will undoubtedly be made to reduce the customs tariff revenues and preserve the war taxes, but there is no popular support of this left-handed reintroduction of free-trade policy. The proposition at present has only an academic interest.

The Canal Treaty

President McKinley sent to the senate on December 4th the report of the isthmian canal commission, of which Rear-Admiral Walker is the head. This report summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of the Nicaragua and Panama routes, and declares in favor of the former, although the estimated cost of the Nicaragua canal as surveyed by the commission is \$200,540,000, while the amount required to complete the Panama enterprise is only \$142,342,579. The principal advantage of the Nicaragua route is the shorter journey it would make possible between the east and the west coasts of the United States; the principal disadvantage of the Panama canal is the existence of French and Colombian financial interests and rights of ownership which would prevent proper control of the undertaking by the United States.

The report is regarded as practically disposing of the Panama project so far as the United States is concerned, unless the outcome of the senate's action on the Hay-Pauncefote treaty between the United States and Great Britain should be an indefinite delay and blocking of the Nicaragua enterprise. It will be remembered that this treaty, which was sent to the senate on the 5th

of last February, provides for a neutral canal, free and open in war and peace to vessels of commerce and war of all nations, with no fortifications erected to command the canal or adjacent waters. This proposed neutralization of the canal is in recognition of the neutrality agreement embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with England, made in 1850; but the senate has chosen practically to disregard this by adopting, on December 13th, by a majority of 65 to 17, the amendment introduced during the last session by Senator Davis, providing that the neutralization sections of the treaty should not "apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order." Other amendments are now proposed, declaring definitely that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is superseded and striking out the provision which requires England and the United States, after concluding the new treaty, to bring it to the notice of the other powers and invite them to adhere to it.

**Abrogate the
Clayton-Bulwer
Treaty**

Whatever policy is finally adopted as to the canal proposition, it is apparent that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty has long outlived its usefulness and remains only an exasperating source of useless controversy. Probably the bulk of the sentiment in this country against neutralizing the canal has come from the impression that we are being forced to yield this point to England against our own best interests. If we had been entirely free to act as we chose, the importance of fortifications and exclusive control would certainly have seemed far less weighty; we might even voluntarily have chosen the neutralization policy as safer in the long run, and less expensive. But for the controversy with England, the costly privilege of building forts and assuming the

whole responsibility for protection of the canal would have seemed much less valuable. The common-sense fact would have been more obvious that no hostile fleet could ever traverse the canal, whether fortified or not. To enter it, such a fleet would first have to pass an American fleet massed at its mouth, and would then have to be guarded on both sides of the canal by an enormous military force to prevent land attacks, and, finally, to escape at the other end, the vessels would have to contend one by one with an American fleet in waiting. It would be a much more desperate undertaking than Admiral Cervera risked in getting out of Santiago harbor, since the Spaniards could at least come through the channel at a high rate of speed and so be ready for quick maneuvers,—an impossibility in emerging from a canal.

It is intimated that Great Britain will not accept the amended treaty. If such proves the case, immediate steps should be taken to secure abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and, if this cannot be done by negotiation, then the treaty should be declared no longer binding upon our government. There is plenty of precedent for such action, in cases where circumstances have so changed as to render treaties out of date and burdensome. In the present case there is no doubt that Great Britain long ago violated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty by obtaining control over certain territory adjoining the canal region. Technically we have recognized the validity of the treaty since this violation, but we are in a position, morally at least, to revoke it if our interests so require. With this stumbling-block out of the way, we can deal with the practical problem of the canal strictly on its merits, free from the distorting effects of anti-British prejudice and suspicion.

THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH : A NEW NATION

WILLIAM FRANCIS SCHEY, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE
NATIONAL PROTECTIVE UNION OF AUSTRALIA

On the first of January 1901, there will be formally inaugurated, with due solemnity and much ceremony, another federation of English-speaking people, which is destined to bulk largely in the coming years before the nations of the world. And its doings will be of much interest and great importance to the United States of America. On that date six British colonies who have hitherto been divided on many questions, who have maintained fiscal barriers one against the other, who have from time to time viewed each other with jealous eyes, and sedulously sought to draw each other's trade away and to minimize the power and importance of all their neighbors, will be welded in a firm and indissoluble union by one of those happy and business-like conjunctions which seem peculiarly adapted to the needs of the Anglo-Saxon race.

From the first day of the new year, which is also the first day of the new century, Australia, inviolate in her sea-girt shores, will drop away the belittlement of merely colonies and become in deed and in truth an independent nation in all but name. Still subject to the British crown in matters of imperial interest she will be sovereign and autonomous in all that concerns herself. An island continent approximating in size the

whole of Europe, and of area almost equal to the whole of the United States of America, with but little over three millions of people in all her borders, she will, if her statesmen be but wise, soon be the dominating factor of all the southern half of our great round world.

A few facts concerning this new nation, this coming competitor, will be of interest to all thoughtful Americans. The areas of the federating states are :

COLONY	Area in Acres	Area in Sq. Mls.
New South Wales	198,848,000	310,700
Victoria	56,245,760	87,884
Queensland	427,838,080	668,497
South Australia	578,361,600	903,690
Western Australia	624,588,800	975,920
Tasmania	16,778,000	26,215
Australian Commonwealth	1,902,660,240	2,972,906

The first settlement of Australia was commenced by Captain Arthur Philip, who landed at Botany Bay on January 19th, 1788, and formally took possession of the whole continent, which was proclaimed a colony under the name of New South Wales on February 7th of the same year. The island of Tasmania, off the southeastern coast of Australia, was taken possession of by an expedition from Sydney, as the town first founded was called after a British statesman then in power, on September 12th, 1803. It was governed from Sydney till 1825, when it was proclaimed an independent province under the name of Van Dieman's Land, which name was subsequently changed to Tasmania. About 1803 an attempt was made to settle the southeastern portion of Australia, and this subsequently became the colony of Victoria which was separated from New South Wales in 1851. Swan River settlement, now Western Australia, was first settled by an expeditionary force from Sydney in 1826, and was

made a separate colony on June 1st, 1829. South Australia was first colonized in 1836 by immigrants sent from England by a colonization company, and the colony was formally proclaimed on December 28th, 1836. Queensland, like Victoria, is an offshoot of New South Wales. In 1825 a convict establishment was formed at Moreton Bay, and in 1859 Queensland was proclaimed an independent state.

Having thus briefly outlined the genesis of the six colonies now about to be federated I shall not stay to catalogue the numerous items of their progress, all of which may be found in the various statistical publications. But it is worthy of note that the idea of union was almost coeval with that of separation, and while the enormous distances between the settlements rendered the latter both necessary and advisable, the idea of reunion was promulgated by the best of the colonists from the earliest times, and indeed our early annals contain many prophecies of the now consummated political conjunction both in prose and verse.

Probably the most radical difference between the colonies, and certainly the most lengthy, has been in their fiscal policies, which have varied from time to time according to the political necessities of each, but have always left the most striking contrast between the adjoining colonies of New South Wales and Victoria. Of course they all started very much on the same lines, specific duties on large items of consumption being levied on for revenue purposes. Generally speaking, these have been increased from time to time, and ad valorem duties added as exigency demanded, but little scientific principle seemed to underlie the various rates charged. Thus Tasmania raises by far the heaviest per capita customs taxation, over 20% average ad valorem on all imports, while Victoria, whose tariff is the most protectionist and the most scientific of all the states,

only levies an average of between 11 and 12 per cent. It seems to have been accepted as a canon of taxation that raw materials required for local manufactures should not be taxed, but even this has been frequently departed from. The customs revenue generally is on the decline, attributable in the main to the fact that all the states except New South Wales have given some encouragement to native industry by means of customs duties and bonuses, and so, gradually, manufactures and producing interests generally have been developed, and have in some instances obtained a firm hold on Australian markets. Thus, with the exception of New South Wales, very little agricultural produce is imported, and locally-made goods in various classes are produced in sufficient quantity to equal the demand. The tariffs generally may be described thus: New South Wales, except for four years (1892 to 1895 inc.) of mainly ad valorem duties, generally free trade: Victoria for the last twenty-eight years, protectionist, many of her duties being specific and others ad valorem: South Australia and Queensland, a judicious mixture of protective and revenue duties, some of the latter having a protective incidence also; and Western Australia and Tasmania, high revenue duties some of which of course are incidentally protective as well.

On the proclamation of the commonwealth all the customs collections are to pass immediately to the federal government to form its revenue, and the federal parliament is charged with the making of a federal tariff which it may set about at once, but must promulgate within two years of the commencement of the federal authority. And already the din of battle is commencing. The first federal elections, which will take place early in the new year, will be almost exclusively dominated by the question of protection versus free trade, and both sides are now preparing as best

they may for the greatest fiscal fight that has ever taken place on this continent. While the infant industries and their employees will range themselves under the banner of protection, the importers and foreign manufacturers' agents are numerous and strong and are being assisted in every way by money and otherwise by their principals in other parts of the world, notably in Great Britain and Germany. The issue ought not to be in doubt. It is a fight between patriotism and progress on the one hand, and selfishness and stagnation on the other. And only the apathy and cocksureness of the national party gives the foreign traders a chance.

What a protectionist policy will mean to the Australian commonwealth may be estimated from the history of the United States. With a territory reaching so near to the equator as the tenth parallel of south latitude, high in the tropics, and stretching right down below 43 degrees south into the colder portion of the temperate zone, having a range of climate from the fervent tropic heat to that of the snowy mountains where snowshoe races are annually held, fires are required during eight months of every year, and the mails are not infrequently stopped by winter snow storms, it will be seen at once that every vegetable product which can be furnished in any part of the world can be grown in some part of Australia just as well. With enormous mineral wealth of the most varied description there is absolutely nothing that could be denied to a wise and industrious population. In short, within our borders is to be found every element of national greatness, and in a profusion unsurpassed in any country of the whole world. Rich gold fields, from which we have already extracted gold to the value of \$1,750,000,000, are backed by the greatest silver mines known since the palmy days of Peru. From all corners come the rich ingots of copper which modern scientific

development has raised almost to the rank of a royal metal. Our streams yield abundant tin of the best quality, while many of our mountains are built of iron and other ores. Side by side with this embryo steel run beds of limestone and great coal fields, the other necessary ingredients of a great iron and steel manufacture. And this magnificent heritage of mineral wealth is amply supported by the quality of our lands, wherein huge tracts of the best sheep country to be found in any part of the world are interspersed with great areas of agricultural soils which can grow our every requirement in cereal or fruit; from oats and barley to sugarcane and coffee; from the apple and the gooseberry to oranges, pineapples and bananas.

Yet with all this enormous mass of raw materials, our population is sparse and our manufactories few. Our minerals have fed people in every quarter of the globe, while the unemployed have cried to us in thousands in our own country. Our wool is sent away for manufacture, much of it not even scoured in the country of its production. Not a ton of steel has yet been made from native ores, and our copper and tin are sent abroad in ingots to return over the sea made up by alien laborers into all the various things of our daily need. Even much of the food we eat is still imported, while our coal has gone to feed the mills of America, India and Japan.

But a change is at hand. The interstate barriers, which have isolated our people into small sections, are about to fall, and with a scientific policy, framed probably on the lines which in the great republic of America produce revenue for the government, and foster and protect the industries of the people, the Australian commonwealth will increase in as great a ratio as its transoceanic friend and cousin. Our lands now idle, or merely running sheep on stations as large as English

counties, and sometimes as many of them put together, will be made to blossom out with corn and wine.

"Our own we love; others we do not hate,
"But loving best our own we make their fate
"Our first concern;
"And, by the way we love our own dear land,
"And, by the wisdom make to govern her,
"We show the world the fruit of these is joy,
"And so by precept lead all on to good;
"Till truth omnipotent reigns everywhere,
"And by his offsprings: justice, wisdom, love,
"And by his grandchildren, joy and charity,
"Makes tears more scarce than the most precious pearl,
"And destitution quite a thing unknown;
"While sorrow only comes to guide those back
"Who stray from wisdom's path;
"And pain and hatred, like white-feathered crows,
"Are very scarce indeed.
"Thus you can see by loving best our own
"Immediate friends, we best do serve the world."

A mordant illustration of what such a policy will mean to our young nation was furnished a year or two ago by our railway commissioners, themselves professed free-traders but believing in good business through and through. They set out to show how much better it would be for the railways if our lands were used for agricultural pursuits instead of being confined to pastoral industries. They said:

"The following rough estimate of the value to the railways of 10,000 acres of land under cultivation, as against 10,000 acres of land employed for running sheep, will strongly illustrate this point. A distance of 300 miles from Sydney has been adopted in each case.

Agricultural Result

"The average yield over the whole colony for the past three years has been $12\frac{1}{3}$ bushels per acre:

	Freight.
"Which gives 3,304 tons at \$3.50 per ton	\$11,564.00
"Carriage of wheat bags	423.67
"Machinery and implements of all kinds, binder twine, etc., materials for re- pairs, etc.,	1,750.00
"Rations, clothing, etc., for one man for every 100 acres—100 men	1,990.00
	<hr/>
	\$15,727.67

"No allowance is made for families or for traveling upon the railways, which would be a fair additional revenue.

"If the crops were reaped and the straw sent to market, a large additional revenue would result.

Pastoral Result

"Average of the whole colony gives one sheep to 2 1-5 acres—11 tons of wool, at \$18 (5 1/2 lbs. per sheep)	\$198.00
"Increase of the flock to be reduced by 25 per cent. each year by trucking to market or by boiling down, say 600 sheep trucked and 525 boiled down	221.08
"Woolpacks, rations for one man for every 4,000 sheep continuously, and two men for 14 days per 1,000 sheep at shearing time	33.25
	<hr/>
	\$452.33

"In this instance a higher average is adopted for the stock sent by rail than is found to be the usual result. No proper estimate can be arrived at in regard to materials for improvements required in the future, as the requirements in this respect will now be comparatively small, owing to the majority of the runs

having completed their fencing, etc., maintenance supplies only in future being required. Allowing \$100 per annum for each 10,000 acres for material of this kind, an occasional woolpress, etc., it gives a total revenue of \$550 per 10,000 acres, as against \$15,727 per 10,000 acres under crop."

Now agricultural settlement depends ultimately on being able to find a market for the produce, and the market depends on having population to eat up what is grown. And the population cannot eat unless it is employed; and to employ the people manufactures both numerous and varied must be founded and carried on. And only protection can give us these.

Again, with the restricted market afforded by one colony only, there has never been sufficient inducement to invest capital in the manufacture of iron and steel on a commercial scale. But the inauguration of the commonwealth has changed all that. Already a Siemens' steel furnace has commenced, although working mainly on scrap, while one of our best citizens is now in England busily organizing a great company to work our rich deposits of which the government statistician says: "Every natural advantage possessed by the great iron and machine producing countries of the world—such as England, America and Belgium—is also present here. Not only are the iron and coal deposited in abundance, and in positions easily accessible and readily worked, but, as pointed out previously in this work ('Wealth and Progress of N. S. W.'), the local iron ore is exceedingly rich." And what is true of iron is true of copper, of tin, of silver, of lead, of zinc and of every metal or mineral commercially valuable. And so with our abundant wool, our easily grown cotton, and so on through all the long list of our wonderful resources.

Protection will be to us the magician's wand which will set hammer to ring on anvil, make the wheels to

revolve, the shuttles to whirr, and the hum of busy industry to sound through all our land, covered with smiling fields and happy homes.

Then indeed shall we take our place among the nations of the world, and, in the great world market, compete in friendly rivalry with even the great republic of the West. Then shall we found, not only the great and mighty nation (phrase beloved of post-prandial orators), but establish within our borders the most desired and desirable thing on earth, a prosperous, a happy and a contented people. Then may we realize the pregnant words of Wentworth, who, with prophetic glance, wrote some fifty years ago:

“And, oh Britannia! Shouldst thou cease to ride
“Despotic Empress of old Ocean’s tide:
“Should thy tamed lion—spent his former might—
“No longer roar, the terror of the fight:
“Should e’er arrive that dark, disastrous hour,
“When bowed by luxury, thou yield’st to power;
“When thou no longer freest of the free,
“To some proud victor bend’st the vanquished knee:
“May all thy glories in another sphere
“Relume, and shine more brightly still than here:
“May this, thy last born infant—then arise
“To glad thy heart, and greet thy parent eyes;
“And Australasia float, with flag unfurl’d,
“A new Britannia in another world!”

A NEW REPUBLIC

The new federation of the Australian colonies constitutes essentially a new republic. The link that still connects it with Great Britain is formal and perfunctory, and does not affect the internal affairs of the commonwealth. Australia is in many respects similar to the United States. It has hitherto consisted of six British colonies which, like the early colonies in this country, have been extremely jealous of each other and always on guard to protect their own rights, political as well as industrial. The progress in Australia has been exceptionally great, in many respects no less extraordinary than the progress in this country. The spirit and principle of democracy have pervaded the entire political structure of all the colonies, and their practical advantages in self-government have been well-nigh complete.

In the industrial development of Australia, the influence of the United States and of England have been perceptible. New South Wales followed closely the English idea of economic policy and adopted free trade. Victoria was more influenced by the American idea and adopted protection. In labor legislation the English influence and example have been very great. The eight-hour system has long been an established fact in Australia, in which it may be said to have led the world. Wages in Australia have been higher than in any other country; in this respect surpassing even the United States, although doubtless representing a somewhat smaller purchasing power per dollar.

High wages and short hours always mean political and economic progress. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the progress of Australia towards political democracy, advanced forms of individual freedom and

intelligent public policy, has been marked, constructive and rational. Under such influences integrating forces naturally operate. Accordingly, with the close of the nineteenth century we find this community of English colonies blooming forth into an integrated commonwealth under a truly democratic form of government and constitution. Happily, this consummation has been brought about not by war or revolution but by industrial development and natural political evolution. The labor movement has had its wholesome influence on Australian industrial conditions, and the policy of protection has had its wholesome influence upon public policy, so as practically to destroy that fetich of free trade which denies the right of a nation to use its political institutions to stimulate, enlarge and protect the economic opportunities of its own people. Along the lines of rational protective ideas, wholesome labor policy and truly democratic representative institutions, Australia, not with the antagonism but with the sympathy and cooperation of the English people and government, has evolved from six segregated colonies into an integrated commonwealth and virtual republic.

We have the honor of publishing in this number an article on the Australian Commonwealth from the pen of Hon. William Francis Schey. Mr. Schey has been conspicuously identified with the recent movement towards Australian federation. He was a member of parliament in New South Wales, and is a leading protectionist, being general secretary of the National Protective Union, president of the New South Wales board of labor commissioners, and otherwise conspicuously identified with recent progressive economic and political movements. Mr. Schey is peculiarly well fitted to write upon what he calls "The New Nation," which is of special and suggestive interest to every citizen of the United States.

HAS JAMAICA SOLVED THE COLOR PROBLEM?

JULIUS MORITZEN

Allowing that the revolting Chinese drama presents racial animosity in its crudest and most barbaric form, not since the civil war have questions of race and color entered more largely into the affairs of the western hemisphere. Politics and religion undoubtedly have had a hand in the world-imbroglio of the Orient. Religious proselytism, however, cannot be assigned as a cause of effects all too evident this side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Perhaps the question of race and privilege assumes specific importance as it concerns either the southern or northern states. Each section, it may be supposed, looks at the matter from its own point of view. But to expect that a disfranchisement process of the North Carolina stamp can make for the homogeneity of the nation is to ignore morality. Political aggrandizement here stands sponsor for a move recently treated of exhaustively in the public prints.

Since the cry of Anglo-American cooperation arises every now and then when questions affecting both nations are at issue, why not examine how each country may benefit the other in solving the problem of race and color? No other two countries have been confronted in a like degree with racial intricacies. Both Great Britain and the United States have had dealings with the African race antedating emancipation.

How much, then, has the British empire to teach those responsible for the stewardship of the Afro-Americans? In how far can the rule of Britannia over its colored subjects find even partial application as it

concerns the right of suffrage due the American negro ? The query teems with vital significance; the more so since the answer at best can be but a superior sort of interrogation. Almost within speaking distance of each other, the United States and Great Britain are working for the solution of the color problem. Whether greater success has crowned the efforts of the empire or the republic is left for the consideration of such who know what the United States has done for the colored people in the past. The North Carolina disfranchisement blunder need not necessarily stand out too boldly against a background which may as yet be blended into a harmonious whole.

Of the several British colonies in the West Indies, none offer a better opportunity for studying the negro problem than Jamaica. Few, if any, possessions of the empire have been the scene of greater strife and vicissitude. How great a factor the negro has continued in the existence of the island the history of Jamaica bears witness.

James Anthony Froude visited Jamaica almost fifteen years ago. The itinerary included the greater portion of the British West Indies and a cursory glance or two bestowed on Hayti. The late historian went, as he afterwards said, for the purpose of increasing his knowledge of the British colonies. The people of Jamaica, whites, blacks and browns, are not yet done discussing Mr. Froude and what he gave utterance to as a result of his journey to the Antilles and the Caribbean Sea. Without reservation it is charged in many quarters that the negrophilism of the eminent historian is not altogether luminous. That Mr. Froude did not consider negro suffrage of whatever kind desirable for the British colony is evident enough from what he wrote about Jamaica and the negroes.

The north coast of the island offers essential advan-

tages for the study of existing conditions. Between Port Antonio and Montego Bay the Caribbean Sea washes a stretch of country prodigiously rich in nature's attributes. And it is in Portland parish that the colored race is now demonstrating its capacity for partly working out its own salvation. The white minority in this section is doing all it can to aid the others in their task.

Port Antonio fifteen years ago did not aspire to the importance which now makes of the town the greatest fruit-shipping port of Jamaica. But since Americans were already acting as the redeeming agency of the northern coast; since what was then the Boston Fruit Company—now the United Fruit Company—employed a large number of blacks on its plantations, the renowned author of "The English in the West Indies" would have done well in visiting Port Antonio before he published his work. The railroad did not then connect the town with Kingston to the south, it may be argued, but, without necessarily championing the cause of the negro, a writer should take every feature into consideration when to gain and disseminate knowledge is the twofold purpose. The capital of a country is never the place where the native pulse beats in unison with its normal self.

The Spanish-American war came home to the Jamaicans as a conflict the result of which would be of more than passing interest to them. To the colored population in particular the aid in behalf of Cuba appealed as some *fin de siècle* emancipation. Fifty odd years before, the efforts of Wilberforce and others of his mind gave freedom to the negroes of Jamaica. The Spanish yoke, as it concerned the Cubans, in the eyes of the blacks and browns, did not seem one whit less oppressive than the slavery of yore, into which many of those living had been born. For which reason the

advent of the stars and stripes in the Caribbean Sea was hailed joyfully by the Afro-Jamaicans.

Landing at Port Antonio, colored quarantine officers inspect the steamer. The custom-house officials likewise are of the colored race. It is the first encounter with representatives of the crown, and on the very threshold of Jamaica, therefore, the opportunity is presented of studying the color problem. Colored clerks are busily at work in the long room, occupied jointly by the custom-house and the colonial bank which has a branch here at Port Antonio. Deft fingers ply the ledgers. Pounds and shillings and pence pass over the counters. From the darkest hue to the lightest brown the ensemble indicates that the British government considers its colored subjects fit to transact part of its business. No fault is to be found with the treatment bestowed on the traveler. If now and then a tinge of officiousness creeps in it is nothing more serious than what may be met with where the representatives of the British government are white instead of black. The colored official in Jamaica cannot be blamed entirely for desiring to impress on the visitor that he considers himself a trifle superior to those of his own race in the United States. Of course his opinion of the colored people of the North is based largely on what he has read concerning the negro disfranchisement. But he is perfectly familiar with the name of Booker T. Washington and the importance of institutions like Tuskegee Institute and the Hampton Training School. And there is not the least doubt that whether black or brown the negro of Jamaica sees in his anterior emancipation a proof positive that he is somewhat in advance of his colored brethren in the United States. He takes pride in knowing that progress has attended the march of his race under the stars and stripes. But he is not willing to concede this progress to be equal with his own. He now and then

strikes up an argument which from his point of view, presumably, is conclusive. In this matter of excellence and priority his traits are characteristically provincial. This is said in no sense of disparagement.

In the matter of shedding fresh light on the color problem of Jamaica the writer had to proceed somewhat differently than anticipated. To make a logical beginning it was the intention to show how the negro had been brought from his native land a slave; how he had been instrumental in cultivating the colony these hundred of years since; what was his condition before and after emancipation, and what changes for better or for worse had been wrought in his material and mental make-up since he had been granted his freedom. It was the purpose to begin with the peasant and the soil and rise gradually upward. But, as it happened, the first representatives of the race to be met with were such as held important government positions, and their case, as it were, had to be disposed of first. Between the two are other grades, each a factor in the development of the colony and the colored race. Even the coolies belong by rights under the color caption.

During the Spanish-American war the large colored population of Port Antonio and surrounding country evinced a more than passing interest in the momentous happenings to the north of the Caribbean Sea. Since then the interest in all that concerns Cuba and the United States has increased twofold. Port Antonio lying directly to the north of the island, which was formerly Spain's, news of importance nearly always found its way here before reaching other points in Jamaica. In common with the white residents the colored population became keenly alive to all that transpired in Cuba and Porto Rico, especially since thousands of blacks and browns were about to be relieved of the Spanish yoke. Then came the conclusion of the war, Cuba was

brought under the protecting wings of the United States, and now the Jamaica negro is anxious to know what political freedom will be given his brother in Cuba in case independence is not granted the island. With his left eye resting on some of the southern states, where the disfranchisement plan is advocated, he cannot help glancing to the right as well where Hayti is presenting a spectacle anything but edifying as regards self-government. It is true that the Haytians are not concerning themselves with the outside world, but the negro at large has a right to inquire what his colored brother in Hayti is doing for his own elevation. More so since here the race is working out its own salvation, let the latter term be rightly applied or otherwise.

Speak to a Jamaica negro of average intelligence about Hayti and the Haytians and he at once professes his allegiance to the queen. Not that there are wanting those who look to independence as the saving clause, but the better element is of a different mind and spurns in unmistakable language the idea that annexation to the United States is for the best of the island. In this respect the sentiment of the colored people has undergone a marked change during the past decade.

Of the more than 700,000 inhabitants of the island about 17,000 are whites. This may seem the reason then why so many negroes are found in the professions, the arena of commerce and in similar walks of life. As artisans they are also much in evidence, and, as a matter of course, all heavy labor is performed by them. But while numerical strength may have considerable to do with their success in the higher branches of existence the Jamaica negroes know only too well that but for education they could never have attained to positions which are seldom reached by the race anywhere else. Whether on the plantations or at the docks it is difficult to find a negro who cannot at least

read or write. With a rudimentary foundation the rest is easier.

The color question of the island in reality presents a problem within a problem. To an outsider, at any rate, there exists a distinct division between the blacks and the browns. The latter as might be guessed are those of mixed race, and not infrequently the browns are referred to in Jamaica as the colored people. The Maroons, the descendants of Carib Indians and negroes, should not be confounded with the browns having Caucasian blood in their veins.

Not once but a number of times the writer while in Jamaica observed how the blacks and browns looked upon themselves as individually superior to the others. There is hardly a doubt that the pure blacks consider the browns as great a danger to their race as the whites.

Market day at Port Antonio brings together every type of the negro race. The streets are crowded with people in picturesque costumes. The country folks passing up and down are almost invariably of the pure negro class. The women are in the majority and balancing heavy baskets on their heads they appear splendid specimens of their sex as they pass by. The black policemen look like statues in their spotless uniforms of white.

In conversation with a colored merchant the writer was reminded of what is told of Li Hung Chang when the shrewd Chinese diplomat is being interviewed. The Celestial statesman, it is affirmed, instead of being interviewed turns himself interviewer. The Jamaica merchant was approached for the purpose of learning certain phases of the situation with which he was said to be familiar to a high degree. It is true that much was gained by the conversation which ensued, but there was evident a desire on the part of the other to

learn all he could about those of his own race in the United States, even before he would commit himself.

"In the interest of my business I go to the states twice a year," he said. "But while there I have not much opportunity to study the color question. However, I feel that we of Jamaica have not a great deal to complain of as concerns our contact with the whites. Of course, here in Port Antonio you can only see one side of the question, since the blacks and browns are so greatly in the majority that you will find us in every avocation. But even when you get to Kingston you will find that the negro is perfectly able to keep step with his white brother of the capital. Some of the most eminent lawyers for instance are of my race."

In speaking of the color problem the merchant affirmed that whites, Cubans, blacks and browns were members of the several secret societies to which he himself belonged. As to the real social intercourse between the races there is a line drawn, although not as definable as in the United States, he confessed.

The railroad between Port Antonio and Kingston furnishes another chapter of information anent the colored people of the island. It is not our purpose, however, to dwell on the rolling stock, what manner of roadbed is furnished or what the distance between Port Antonio and the capital to the south of the island. A more graphic pen than the present might be able to picture adequately the magnificent landscape through which the train speeds towards its destination. The personnel of the train and the passengers, however, came entirely within the purpose of the journey undertaken by the writer. From fireman to conductor the crew was composed of negroes. Except for a few persons the passengers were blacks and browns.

The conductor volunteered considerable information as to the relationship between the white and

colored passengers in general. The Jamaica Railroad has first and second-class carriages, and color is no bar to either. In fact, while many of the whites travel second-class, blacks and browns not infrequently fill the first-class carriages. On this first railroad journey to Kingston the writer had as fellow passenger a colored overseer of a large plantation, and the information gained from him remains not the least valuable material gathered in the island. What he had to say about the peasant class proved him in possession of logic and acumen.

In the United States the color question comes most strongly to the fore where those of different races meet in public places. As for Jamaica, it was to be expected that whatever animosity prevailed would find antagonistic expression where whites and negroes were supposed to meet on common ground. The writer recalls an incident which, while strikingly unique to a stranger, offers a fair example of what can be met with frequently in the British colony.

It was on the evening of a dramatic performance at the Theater Royal, Kingston. The amateur talent of the city was to give a benefit for the fund for the widows and orphans of soldiers who had fallen in the Transvaal war. A large audience had gathered to pay tribute to the valor of the British army. The military band was playing a stirring battle piece and the curtain was about to rise. The writer was interested in the mixed assemblage which from the point of fashion would have done credit to an audience at the Metropolitan Opera-House on a gala night. Magnificent types of creole women, handsome dark-skinned mulattoes and men and women of the pure negro type were scattered throughout the lower floor and occupied conspicuous boxes in the balcony. Sir Augustus Hemmings, governor of Jamaica, was in the official box with Lady

Hemmings and other members of the family. Suddenly, attention was directed toward the rear of the auditorium. Down the center strode a couple, the man six feet tall and black as ebony, the woman a perfect blonde. Like some modern Othello and his fair Desdemona the couple reached their seats where the removal of the woman's opera cloak revealed a form which stood in striking contrast to that of her escort who looked almost inky black from head to foot, except for his immaculate shirt front.

The man now rose and bowing toward the governor's box gave intimation that the occupants were no strangers to him. Then he turned aside and spoke to some one sitting next to him.

"Rather a difference in complexion," remarked a typical creole sitting near the writer. "Even to us such a contrast is not an everyday occurrence."

It transpired that the negro was one of the foremost jurists on the island and that he had recently married in England. His wife, who belonged to a prominent family in the country across the sea, was making her initial appearance before the social set that evening. Nothing could have been advanced to prove more conclusively that Jamaica gives apparent social recognition to the colored race. And still it is only as a sort of superior toleration that the negro is admitted to the charmed circle of society. As in the United States, the color line would be drawn tight were it but politic. It is the knowledge of this which makes the Jamaica negro strive hard to earn social recognition through education.

The Anglo-Saxon element of Jamaica looks with disfavor on intermarriage of the races. That such a practice is conducive to the solution of the color question is very doubtful. It is quite true that some of the most brilliant mulattoes in the island testify to the fact that mixed parentage has worked benefit in their particular cases. But as a rule the admixture of Caucasian

blood is to be traced back a considerable period when the negro was still a slave.

Entirely apart from the question of illegitimacy, those of unmixed race do not admit that this contact with the whites has been an exceptional heritage. The pure negro with some reason says that since his lineage is undisturbed he has a right to consider himself the superior. On the other hand the browns as a whole seem perfectly contented that their skin in many instances borders on the white.

To treat conclusively of the Jamaica negro is out of the question. The psychology of the race as it pertains to the colored people of the island has much to differentiate it from what obtains in many other places. Books of travel do not furnish all the facts about this member of the African race. The writer fails to see in what way most authors have placed the Jamaica negro in his proper light. It is quite true that of faults he has many, but the final estimate is not obtained from some steamer's deck, as the tourist merely glances at the coast of Jamaica and its people, as it were. Mr. Froude did not do much better, even though he made a stay on the island and was entertained royally at the hands of the government officials. It may be argued that his book is entitled "The English in the West Indies." The more reason why he should not have planned beforehand what to say about the blacks and browns who constitute the majority. The late historian did not consider them fit members to participate in the affairs of the local government. As an insular Englishman it could hardly be expected that he would have advocated their participation too strongly; but to compare the Afro-Jamaicans with the Haytians is an injustice which some future historian will surely correct. And that is in reality how Mr. Froude summed up his result.

Perhaps the reader will reach the conclusion that the present article gives more than a due proportion of credit to the negro and omits to speak adequately of the whites. Such a conception is a fallacy except so far as it concerns the object of the article: to tell what the Jamaica negro is doing for his own elevation. Many descriptive books are in the market which will enlighten the curious in the matter of picturesque delineation. Jamaica is an island like few in the West Indies. As for the political situation it has been dealt with every now and then. But the negro race is just beginning to be a real factor in the destiny of nations. And whether in the United States, the West Indies, or in their native Africa, the racial bond must sooner or later assert itself. And this, notwithstanding the mulatto, has of late become a sub-division of the entity.

The schools and churches of the island are fertile places in which to study the evolution of the colored people of Jamaica. Since the emancipation several important changes have been made in the educational system. The wealthier classes among the whites invariably send their children to England to finish their education. But to the writer it appeared as if the spirit of amicability between the white and colored children attending the parochial schools left nothing to be desired. There comes to mind, for instance, the picture of two young girls walking down the steps of a school in Kingston. The one was of fair complexion with blonde curls in profusion around her head; the other had the dark features and woolly hair of the typical negro. With their arms around each other's neck the contrast could not have been greater. No racial animosity could have rested in the minds of these young girls at any rate. Perhaps the case in point was exceptional. If so it is pleasant to have witnessed it in a season of such world-wide racial contention.

The name of Booker T. Washington has already been alluded to. It is exceedingly doubtful whether Frederick Douglas in his time meant much more to his race than the influence this masterful negro educator now exerts over his people. It was to be supposed that the aim and strenuousness of Professor Washington were quite familiar to the colored people of the towns and cities of Jamaica, but even in the country districts his educational propaganda has taken root, and when the black peasant is asking questions pertaining to his colored brethren in the United States he frequently bases his inquiries on what he already knows about the "Negro Moses" of the North, as Booker T. Washington has been termed by his own people and others. When on that day at Harvard, five years ago, a colored man for the first time in the history of a New England university was officially honored, the degree of master of arts, conferred by President Eliot, placed Booker T. Washington on a pedestal visible as far south as the British colony in the Carribbean Sea. When he said subsequently that work and education are the levers by which the race is to be lifted up, he may have given unconscious inspiration to thousands of Jamaica negroes. For there is no doubt that within the past five years the blacks, who constitute the laboring class, have gone to work with more of a will than in years gone by. Whatever Booker T. Washington has written has gone straight to the mark, whether it applied locally or in the aggregate.

Not a few negroes have found their way from Jamaica to the United States, but in most instances a grateful return has been beaten after a limited stay. The numerous tourists who now flock to the island for health and pleasure have perhaps stimulated a desire on the part of the Jamaica negro to share in the opulence which most travelers so openly display. Wages

are small in the island it is true, but then again to the natives the living is inexpensive. Narrowed down to its due proportion the colored race here is quite as well off as anywhere.

Unquestionably it is to the soil that the negro of the tropical countries will have to turn for his ultimate salvation. The industrial activity with which the negroes have recently identified themselves in the southern states of this country has its mainspring in the cultivation of the cotton fields. In Jamaica and other islands of the West Indies nature has prepared the ground almost in advance. Since sugar must in the future be confined to extensive territories under the management of central factories, other products will be found available to the peasant class. Bananas, coconuts and other tropical plants and trees will be made to yield even more plentifully than at present. And it is the hope of a large number of negroes that the whites will come to realize that this is for the best of all concerned and not oppose the peasant proprietary.

But who is to do the work of the larger estates, the plantations where labor is wanted during certain periods of the year? This is a question which has caused no end of discussion, and was solved to some extent by the introduction of the coolies who came to Jamaica under contract with the British government. But since men and women share equally the labor of the field, the peasant, it is said, can manage his own plot of ground and be at the service of the planters when most needed. That the advent of the coolies has from the first stimulated the negro to greater effort there is little doubt. Patient, saving, the coolie has told the negro, by example that if the latter does not continue industrious the other will take his place.

The writer visited many country districts and saw

the workings of the peasant proprietary system. Apparently the people are happy in the knowledge that they have roofs of their own over their heads.

The constitution of Jamaica reads that in order to vote at the election of a member of the legislative council for any of the electoral districts the individual must have attained the age of twenty-one years. He must be a British subject by birth or naturalization, and during the preceding twelve months must be the owner or tenant of a dwelling house within the district. This applies to whites and negroes alike and there is no educational clause inserted for the reason that it could not find application since nearly everybody can read and write. Perhaps a certain element of the white population is not too enthusiastic because their black and brown fellow voters thus easily qualify themselves. But the preponderance of colored voters is there to stay and the white opponents might just as well make the best of it. Careful investigation has shown that rather than put in nomination one of their own color the blacks and browns have chosen a white candidate where the latter's qualifications for the office have been more pronounced.

As for the cry of superstition, which so many writers raise in their treatment of Jamaica and other West Indian islands, that perhaps is a matter which is inherent in the African race. But not once during a stay of several months in Jamaica did the writer encounter anything which would lead him to believe that education in time would not make an easy conquest of this very superstition. Not a few writers have attempted to show with a vengeance that devil worship was a feature of the Jamaica negro in common with the blacks of Hayti. Whatever authority lies behind, it is safe to say that hearsay is alone responsible. It is in the nature of the colored race to be easily influenced.

But rather than expose to view whatever shortcomings the negro of Jamaica may possess the white inhabitants should take pains to tell the visitors of his better qualities. A parent does not usually chastise his child in public. Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon element of Jamaica might do itself a service by at any rate extolling those qualities and improvements which the Afro-Jamaicans possess and show. As for the United States and its thousands of recently acquired colored wards in the West Indies, it is to be hoped that it will deal conscientiously with the negro population which is to witness a new era likewise under Anglo-Saxon stewardship.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS

The next great public movement in this country is destined to be in the field of municipal politics. It is in the nature of all rapid progress that it moves in sections. The first progress in a new country is always industrial. It is the very prosperity of its industrial enterprise that brings progress in all other phases of society. Population centers around industrial activity; hence the development of manufacture and commerce brings cities. The relation of cities to each other and to agricultural regions brings the railroad system, and so the nation grows along the lines of its industrial activities, and the character of its institutions is largely determined by the nature of its industries. When the industrial progress is very rapid, especially if abnormally so, the growth and government of towns and cities are largely left to their own momentum.

This is vividly illustrated in the sudden growth of a mining camp. The kind of houses, the conditions of the town, the civic regulations, the sanitation, the laying out and care of the streets, are for a time left largely to the individual impulse of the people, with the result of chaos, disorder and neglect. In short, all the municipal and social features of the town are subordinated to the prime impulse that brought the town into existence, namely, industrial success. Next to industrial success, and largely contemporaneous with it, comes the political interest, especially as affecting the relation of the industries of the place to the state or national government. Under these forces, which are naturally aggressive in proportion to the industrial growth of the place, the municipal interests are for a long time neglected.

This neglect brings a multitude of vices as the town grows. The lack of sanitation, neglect of streets, of proper water supply, of building regulations, of opportunities for education, etc., begin to show themselves in the poor character and unattractiveness of the town. Politics, which is an early development, immediately interests itself in the police department because that is the source of control. The consequence is that the place becomes known as rich but crude and shoddy. It is characterized as sacrificing civilization to the dollar, its laws are ill enforced, the free use of money and purchase of privileges and bribery of public officials become common. As a natural consequence, public attention is first temporarily and then permanently turned to the improved elevation and purification of civic life. It becomes a part of the policy and politics to raise the political and civic character of its institutions to the level of its industrial accomplishments. This is the natural order of development under the influence of rapid growth, and hence is apt to be characteristic of new "bonanza" countries. It has been conspicuously illustrated in the history of the United States.

Our industrial progress has no parallel in any other country, neither has the comparative backwardness of our municipal governments. We have more national wealth, we have made more and greater economic improvements, we have a greater degree of personal and political freedom, we have a higher standard of prosperity and individual income than any other nation, and we have a lower standard of civic life, poorer city governments, and more municipal corruption and debauchery than can be found in any other country. This is not evidence of the political debauchery of the American people, but it is the result of a neglected field in our governmental activities. The national energy has

been devoted to other fields, and in these unequalled success has been accomplished.

The admittedly higher standard of municipal government in Europe is easily accounted for by the fact that the progress in European countries has been more uniform, because it has been much slower than in the United States. The progress has been more homogeneous and more gradual, it has taken no great spurts, either in industry, population, form of government or other conditions. Its several nations have practically no alien population, no "trust" problem, no free silver agitation and no Tammanys, because it has had no extraordinary industrial expansion, which within a single decade called into existence new municipalities and sometimes new states. The city of London, for instance, has had its charter nearly a thousand years.

During the first half of the present century the industrial development of this country was comparatively normal, the diversification of industry was slight, cities grew slowly, and municipal government kept comparative pace with the growth of national institutions. Tammany administrations were practically unknown. It was not until after the war, when the extraordinary growth of industry came, with multiplication of manufactures, almost magical appearance of cities and conversion of small cities into large ones, that the field of municipal activities came to be relatively neglected. It is not that municipal interest became less, but that it failed to grow apace with the industrial expansion and urbanization of population. We have now reached the point, however, where the problem of municipal government with all it implies must receive national attention or its very neglect will react upon our industrial progress.

The debauchery and corruption developed in our municipal life has already begun to spread into the field

of state and national politics. At the present rate of city growth, before the first quarter of the twentieth century is closed, the majority of the voters of the nation will probably be in the cities and large towns, and the national government will be controlled by the methods and forces that govern the municipalities.

The national questions of immediate importance, if not yet solved have been put beyond the point of imminent danger. The tariff question, for instance, though not scientifically settled, may be regarded as safely disposed of for the next few years. The gold standard has been established and the stability of our monetary system practically secured. Although much remains to be done to perfect our banking system, it is not in danger of revolutionary disturbance, so as to jeopardize our financial and business stability. Unfortunately, new problems have been injected into our foreign policy which to some extent will unduly absorb public interest and tend to lessen the concentration of attention on domestic affairs, but this is largely an affair of the national government, which should not and it is to be hoped will not be permitted, even in the hands of cunning politicians, to divert the attention of the people from the now imperative question of municipal government.

New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other large cities have become the nests of political pestilence. They are the breeding places of political "Black Death" and are rapidly infesting the atmosphere of the nation with their disease-laden germs. There is one element, however, in the character of the American people which furnishes the foundation for optimistic confidence; it is, that they generally rise to the occasion when demanded. They have occasionally made mistakes, but when brought face to face with vital issues involving the nation's welfare and future progress

they have always taken the highway, though the temptation to go cross-lots was ever so great. This feature has been illustrated in the last two national elections. The people—the masses—upon whom the sophistry of quack statesmanship is expected to have the greatest influence, who are the victims of industrial dislocation and come most directly in touch with the disadvantages and receive the meager end of the benefits of industrial and social institutions, are naturally expected to lend the most willing ear to drastic measures and even to revolution. But in 1896, and again in 1900, although in sympathy with much that was presented in favor of disruption, they rose to the level of wholesome discrimination, selected the genuine and rejected the spurious with a decision that stimulates faith in democracy and furnishes a guarantee to civilization. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that when brought face to face with the problem of municipal government the American people will be no less equal to the task.

With the comparative subsidence of national questions the subject of municipal government is naturally coming conspicuously to the front. It is also beginning in exactly the right place, New York city. New York is the metropolis of the country, it is the second largest city in the world, it is the greatest center in this country of wealth, learning, art, science, commerce and industry, and, for reasons already stated, it has perhaps the most corrupt and debauched government of any city in the world. Its administration has been so long in the hands of a debased and debasing organization that those responsible for it have lost the capacity to blush. Instead of being a government for the protection of the city, it uses the political power and wealth of the people to traffic in crime and protect criminals and levy blackmail upon the unfortunate class whose duty it is to

help and protect. It has converted politics into a corrupt private business, to the scandal of the community and disgrace of the nation.

This naturally tends to grow worse as it grows stronger, and becomes more impervious to criticism. Under the tendency to neglect municipal interests, these corrupting and degrading methods have been systematized into regular organized politics on the principle that success succeeds and establishes the methods of its success.

The corrupting methods evolved and so skilfully adopted by Tammany have been imitated by the republican organization. It is no longer a question of different principles or public policy that actuates the two organizations in New York city, but how a division of the spoils can be secured. While Tammany is in control of the administration, it is frequently more or less in danger of dislodgment, and in order to perpetuate itself it consents, according to the degree of danger, to divide the emoluments with the other organization. It has become a question of the division of spoils rather than policy of municipal administration.

This evil has been generally believed to exist for a considerable time, the evidence of it has been more or less manifest for many years, but the proof of it now exists in indisputable form. That the republican managers and officeholders do trade with the leaders of Tammany Hall is now susceptible of conclusive demonstration. We have in our possession the evidence that such dishonest trading took place in the last election. Although this vice is probably more flagrant in New York than in any other city, it has become a feature of municipal politics in all large cities.

This feature is responsible for the failure of many wholesome efforts towards municipal reform. There have been several spasmodic attempts to cleanse the

character of municipal politics, but when the movement seems to reach anything like the danger point to either organization the other comes to its rescue. This has been done so many times and in so many ways that the faith of the people in the wholesome integrity of the local republican organization is not much greater than in that of Tammany. It is probably true that 75 per cent. of those who voted for McKinley in New York city at the national election would be as reluctant to give the republican party control of the city government as they would to reelect Mayor Van Wyck. Indeed, the public belief is that the municipal government under the leadership of Thomas C. Platt would be in no important sense better than the present one under Richard Croker. This may be an unjust view. Mr. Platt is not a duplicate of Mr. Croker, he is a cultivated gentleman. It has not and probably cannot be proved that he is a personal beneficiary of crime and the criminal class. He has never yet had Croker's opportunity, yet it is definitely known that those immediately under him, who do his bidding, are ready to and do participate in identically the same methods as do the men under Croker; indeed, that they participate in the same thing with them. This belief regarding Mr. Platt and the republican organization is so strong and knowledge of the conduct of his subordinates is so conclusive that the people will not and ought not to trust him.

Although a majority of the people of New York are unquestionably opposed to Tammany and would gladly rid themselves of Croker and all he implies, they will not transfer the administration to the republican party, which is so visibly tainted with Tammany methods. This fact has now become so clear that a republican nomination for mayor in New York city cannot be taken seriously; it is so clear that republicans who really want clean politics would not favor it, and any effort to bring

about that result would be properly interpreted as a part of a plan to perpetuate Tammany and enable certain republican politicians to divide with Tammany the revenues from the city's degradation.

The fact that this is becoming an increasingly definite view held by the citizens in both parties is a still further hopeful sign that the people are getting ready to face the municipal problem in a practical and efficient manner. Past experience and knowledge of present conduct on the part of the republican organization, and its accommodating relation to Tammany, makes it indispensable to any real success that the republican organization be not trusted with any leadership in municipal politics. There are many signs of real awakening on the part of the public in this direction. If the people take vigorously hold of this aspect of the subject at the outset there are abundant reasons for hoping and believing that a great step in the progress of municipal government in this country can be taken during the coming year. The movement to be successful—and the time is supremely opportune—must be under unquestioned leadership. The first, and perhaps in this instance the only, proposition around which the people should be asked to rally is the complete and unqualified dethronement of Tammany. This would make the issue simple, the point of concentration easy, and the motive for enthusiastic cooperation obvious.

The first thing to accomplish in dealing with the municipal question is to inspire public confidence, inspire the faith of the people in the possibility of clean politics and honest administration, with the dominating motive to promote the welfare of the city, not merely in making taxes low but in promoting public improvements and ministering to the welfare of the people in respect both to the conditions of living and the conditions of doing business. If clean politics and honest

administration can once be assured, so that blackmail and league with crime between government officials and the criminal class shall disappear, so that the courts shall be accessible to all citizens alike, regardless of their relation to a political organization, then the opportunity for dealing with the real municipal problems, like the sweatshops and other depressing features of our city life, will be at hand.

An important and indeed vital question in connection with the movement for clean politics is the machinery for nominating candidates. It is at this initiatory stage where the Tammany and republican organizations exercise their vicious control. The public influence in the caucuses is practically *nil*. The reason for this is that through the power of patronage the organization can control the delegates in the nominating conventions,—Tammany through municipal offices and Platt through federal and state offices. Here is where much of the trading between the two parties is done. By having office-holders as delegates, they can manipulate the conventions for almost any candidate. If they cannot change the result by putting the screws on existing office-holders they can buy delegates with the promise of office or other reward.

It is in this way that Croker dictated the nomination of Van Wyck for mayor in 1897, and forbade the nomination of Coler for governor in 1900. It was exactly in this way that, for a money consideration, the nomination of William L. Douglas for congress in the 14th congressional district, New York city, in place of Adelbert H. Steele, last fall, was dictated, although a majority of 36 of the delegates were voluntarily pledged to Mr. Steele. In this case Tammany office-holders were used to accomplish the result. So long as the organization leader through his control of patronage can thus dictate the nominations, the progress

towards clean politics will be very slow. This obstacle to free nominations ought to be immediately removed.

All that is required to accomplish this end is to substitute nomination by petition for nomination by delegate conventions. What is needed is simply to abolish the convention and let the nomination of candidates be made by petition of registered voters. Thus, for instance, in the nomination of congressmen, provide that every name presented with the endorsement of fifty enrolled republicans or democrats shall be placed upon the nominating ballot in alphabetical order. In this way, any person whom fifty voters of his own party desire to have submitted to the people's approval as a candidate can be put upon the list. At the legal primaries the voting is open to the entire electorate of the district, who are entitled to vote in the party primary. The person who receives the largest number of votes in the secret ballot thus taken becomes the party nominee, whose name is to go upon the official ballot on election day. This would do two things: it would give the voters not merely the right but the protected opportunity to nominate, because it would enable every person of any appreciable popularity to have his name submitted to the voters of his party for nomination. The organization might nominate a candidate but they could not influence the voters any more than they can now do so at the polls. In short, this would place the nomination of candidates under the protection of the secret ballot, which has already been adopted as the last resource for protecting the citizen's vote at the polls.

If Platt or Croker and their friends could influence a large number of voters to support their candidates, they would be perfectly justified in doing so, because they could only do this by influencing the judgment of the voters, which it is every citizen's right to

do, but their power to coerce office-holders would be gone. This would be the practical elimination of both office-holder and boss from politics. With this accomplished, the people would then be directly in control of the nomination as well as the election of candidates, and popular elections would be an established fact.

Of course, the Platts and Crokers would unite in defeating any such important legislation in the interest of popular elections. It would be like signing their own death warrant. Nevertheless, this is the great needed first step, and this is the opportunity for the republican party to show whether it is really in favor of clean politics. The republican majority in the assembly at Albany is so great that if the party really believes in popular nomination as well as election, and believes in placing the entire machinery of the election in the hands of the citizens, such a law can be promptly passed early in the present session. If such a bill is introduced, as it surely will be, the opportunity will be presented and the test applied to republican political ethics.

This power over the nominations makes cowards of most members of the legislature, because they know they will perish in silence before they have a chance to appeal to the people. For instance, when Mr. Platt was elected as senator from New York there were seven members of the legislature who preferred Mr. Choate, and voted accordingly. They all died; not one of them passed the renomination caucus guillotine. This power to kill at the threshold of nomination would be held over the head of every member of the legislature of either party who dared to favor a measure which would transfer the nominations from the delegate convention to petition by the people. But there is this saving fact which should not be overlooked, that if the law is passed neither Platt nor Croker can thereafter

behead its advocates in the primaries. Their power to kill by preventing nomination would be gone, and so the success of such a measure would carry with it the self-protection of its supporters.

If the republican party, with the endorsement of the national administration, would favor such a proposition, nothing could prevent its becoming a law in New York state before next March. With such a law, placing the nominating machinery in the hands of the people, the work of clean politics and real progress in municipal government would have begun, and once fairly established in one or two large cities it would soon permeate the political machinery and methods of the whole nation.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN CRITICIZING the fallacy of the idea of government repression of profits, so prevalent in many of the socialistic movements, the Richmond (Va.) *Times* very sanely remarks:

"It is the duty of government to open the way and give every opportunity and encouragement to human endeavor. If the government will do this, we shall continue to progress and improve, and be sure the results will take care of themselves."

This is eminently sound doctrine. It furnishes the true line of demarcation between wholesome, protective public policy and coddling paternalism. It states the rational and scientific ground between a policy of doctrinaire do-nothingism and socialism. Yes, it is the duty because it is the true function "of government to open the way and give every opportunity and encouragement" to individual endeavor, and, in order to give this encouragement, it must protect the opportunities for the endeavor of our own people to make the most of their possibilities. The Richmond *Times* sounds the note of true political science and wise public policy.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE's promised contribution of three million dollars to build and endow a technical institute at Pittsburg is another mark to his credit. This makes about fifteen millions Mr. Carnegie has contributed to public libraries and other educational opportunities for the non-collegiate class. Now if somebody will endow an institute for systematic industrial and political education, through local classes, home studies and lecture courses, with a permanent home in New York and, ultimately, branches in the leading cities, the real educational work of the twentieth cen-

tury will have begun. There are persons of great wealth who could well afford and would be glad to aid in such work if they only realized its importance and necessity. Peter Cooper did his work well; Mr. Carnegie is making effective contributions to the preparatory work in this field, and the university settlement movement is also doing good work in breaking the ground. The time is now ripe for a well-equipped, constructive institution which shall systematically conduct this educational work throughout the country.

THE CITY of Haverhill, Massachusetts, for two years has had a socialist for mayor. His election was regarded as a significant political event and the experiment has been watched with interest. The outcome is that after two years the people of Haverhill, like the people of Kansas in their experiment with populism, have had enough. A republican mayor has been elected by nearly one thousand majority over a combination of socialists and democrats put together. Vagaries are good to catch popular applause, but they are usually disappointing in practice, and this is a very practical world. When we get to them we find that single-taxers, populists and socialists, in their interests and daily action, are wonderfully like other people. Such experiments do but emphasize the fact that, after all, society is not to be suddenly made over by fantastic ideals, but the improvements must come, if at all, by development and expansion along the same lines by which all the progress of the past has come. Idealism is not to be inaugurated by electing a populist governor or a socialist mayor, but by gradually improving the conditions which lead to the development of the character and raise the standard of life of the people. It is not miracles but progress that is wanted.

THE Jacksonville (Fla.) *Times* takes exception to our criticism of the democracy in posing as the friend of full political rights of the colored people in the Philippines while suppressing those of the colored people in the South. But really, its tone is so moderate and its spirit so fair that we feel like apologizing though pleading not guilty. "We grant," it says, "that logic is on the side of our opponents—we claim that all precedent and experience sustains our position." Then, after ably arguing that fitness is "a prerequisite in citizenship," it says:

"Let us pass out of the atmosphere of the campaign and talk seriously and sensibly among ourselves. The South would gladly surrender whatever strength in congress might be necessary to lay the specter that has afflicted our land all these years—republicans have the power to demand this if they choose, but no man who has an interest in the South could see without apprehension any proof that the administration designed to bring back the rule of ignorance and prejudice to a great and growing section of the union."

Here the Jacksonville *Times* is assuredly right. Its position is sound theory and good practice. If the South would take its stand squarely upon some scheme of fitness for citizenship and apply it alike to all its people, and voluntarily accept representation in congress upon the constitutional basis of its voting population, it would at once put itself beyond criticism and command the endorsement and cooperation of the entire nation. The Jacksonville *Times* has sounded the true note. With such a policy, prejudice would soon disappear and the industrial prosperity of the South would take on even greater stimulus.

A CONCERN in Trenton, New Jersey, which employs some 200 young women making cigars, has adopted the novel experiment of furnishing music for them to work by. A grand piano is placed in the work-room, a competent pianist employed to furnish music two hours

each day, and a music teacher is hired by the firm to furnish singing lessons free to the operatives during the noon hour. The hope of the management is that this will render the labor of the women less monotonous and help to stimulate good feeling for their employers and something of refined taste which shall show itself in their domestic lives. It is a little on the plan of the National Cash Register Company in Dayton, Ohio, which provides facilities for the operatives to take recreation, baths, etc., in the company's time. Whatever the practical outcome of such departures, they show that the tendency has actually set in among employers to do something for their work-people besides exacting the maximum work for the minimum pay. Every experiment of this kind is an indication of a better spirit toward laborers, which will ultimately bring better economic relations between labor and capital. When employers, of their own volition, begin to furnish recreation and music, we may reasonably hope that the opposition of the employing class to shortening the working day, securing ample opportunities for education for working children, and protection against accidents, will soon disappear, and a general system of old-age and accident insurance for laborers will receive their active encouragement.

IN A CLEVER article on democracy and panic, the Savannah (Ga.) *News* comes to the rescue of the New York *Times* in its effort to shield the Cleveland administration from the responsibilities of the panic of 1893. After quoting our statement that: "Of course it was not what Mr. Cleveland did, it was what it was feared he would do that ushered in the panic. The panic came ahead of him, but it came because it was known he was coming with disruption in his hands," the *News* says:

"But is it not rather true that the public doubted the ability of the government to continue for an indefinite period the purchase of dollars for 100 cents that were only worth 67? We think so."

This could hardly have been the case, because, as a matter of fact, the government was not "purchasing dollars for 100 cents that were only worth 67." Under the Sherman law the government bought silver at the market bullion price, and at no time during the operation of that law was silver 129 cents an ounce, which would be "100 cents" in the dollar. Indeed, much of it was bought at less than \$1 an ounce, some of it as low as 73 cents. Nor was there any real doubt in the public mind on the subject. It was discussed a little in Wall Street, but it did not become a question of public agitation and popular concern until after the election. The Sherman law ought not to have been passed, and its repeal was a wise step, but there is no ground for attributing the panic to that law. Probably it would have created a panic just as easily as did the threat of free trade, if the public had become frightened regarding it, but the fact is the public did not become frightened at it and consequently it had practically no panicky effect. The panic was the result of fear, and the threat against the tariff, whether well grounded or not, was what caused the fear.

INDICATIONS ARE beginning to appear that Mr. Odell is not going to be exactly a "Me too" governor of New York. It was taken for granted by many, and apparently by Senator Platt, that Mr. Odell would remember his creator in the days of his youth and take his "orders" without too much explanation. On this assumption, immediately after the election Mr. Platt announced with great assurance that certain things would occur: Mr. Aldridge would be reinstated at the head of the public works department, and a state con-

stabulary bill would be "promptly passed." These announcements, like his recent statement that Mr. Bidwell would not be removed "while I live," were made with as much assurance as if he alone were to be consulted. But something seems to have occurred. Mr. Odell is beginning to act as if it were he and not Senator Platt that was elected governor, and to the surprise of Mr. Platt he has already indicated that Mr. Aldridge cannot be reinstated, but that Governor Roosevelt's appointment of John N. Partridge will be sustained. And, as if something serious had occurred behind the scenes, Senator Platt has suddenly discovered that a state constabulary bill will not be passed. With all this awakening to wisdom who knows but what Mr. Platt may yet discover that he is not president of the United States, and that after all it was William McKinley who was voted for at the last national election. Mr. Platt once before mistook himself for the president of the United States, and that too was about the collect-
orship of the port of New York. The people of New York did not share his hallucination and it took him fifteen years to recover from the shock. He is somewhat older now and may be wiser by the experience, but whether he recognizes it or not it is quite clear that the people are now in no mood to brook his dictatorship, either in New York city, Albany or Washington.

IT SOMETIMES seems as if it were impossible for a certain class of journals to approach anything bearing on protection without losing their reason. In discussing the ship subsidy bill, the *New York Times* says:

"The whole theory of the ship subsidy bill is that Americans cannot compete with Englishmen or Germans in building and running ships. If any American were told that he was inferior in brains, energy, and business ability to the average Englishman or German, he would resent the statement as an insult. . . . Why is it that the confidence in himself and respect for himself which is so strong in each American seems to vanish when the question of aid from the government is raised?"

The *Times* seems not to know that the ability of manufacturing industries in one country to compete with those in another does not depend alone upon their energy and business ability; it depends on a great many other things over which the managers personally have no control. For instance, the civilization of the United States absolutely prevents American shipbuilders from procuring labor at the same cost as English and German shipbuilders. That item alone might render it impossible for Americans to compete with the English or Germans though they were not in the least "inferior," etc., and might even be superior.

But there is one simple fact that conclusively answers this superficial and essentially false statement of the case. American shipbuilders have *not* been able to compete with English and German shipbuilders though they are admittedly equal or superior "in brains, energy, and business ability." Then manifestly there is some other cause that prevents their success. If they could compete they surely would. It is out of no feeling of philanthropy that they permit 95 per cent. of our commerce to be carried in foreign bottoms. Why do people who reason sanely and even profoundly on other subjects seem so silly when they come to this? As if it implied a lack of "confidence in himself and respect for himself" for an American manufacturer to admit that he cannot compete with an English or German competitor when he is handicapped by some adverse economic conditions! Such talk is not reasoning; it neither enlightens the people nor reflects credit upon those who make use of it. It ignores the entire economic element in the protective theory. The shipping bill may not be a good bill, it certainly is not the best method of protecting our shipping industry, but such stilted, cock-sure, half-charged arguments will never correct the error.

NEW ORLEANS AND NEGRO EDUCATION

In the October number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE certain comments were made upon the action of the school authorities in New Orleans regarding negro education, which have given rise to considerable discussion. The portion of our comment that has been chiefly selected for adverse criticism is the following:

"New Orleans has decided to discontinue all grammar-school education for colored children and admit them to nothing above the primary grade. Following so closely on the heels of the anti-negro riots in that city, with the burning of the extensive and expensive Lafon school, built by a negro for the education of negroes, this is particularly discouraging. It is in line with the increasing tendency in the South, first, to provide an educational test for negroes at the polls; second, to restrict their educational opportunities so that they will never be able to meet that test, thus making disfranchisement as universal as possible."

Commenting upon this, the New Orleans *Picayune* said editorially, in its issue of October 26th:

"It would be difficult to find in any pretended statement of facts such an assemblage of falsehoods. There is but one fact in the entire declaration, and that is that the Lafon school was burned during an anti-negro disturbance in this city.

"Feeling assured that GUNTON'S only wishes to state facts in this as in every other matter, and that its expressions as given above were made in good faith on information supposed to be reliable, the *Picayune* will briefly state the facts in the case.

"In the first place, the New Orleans school board, which is vested by law to administer the schools of this

city, has never decided to discontinue grammar-school education for negroes. On the contrary, the school system remains just as it has been for years, with both primary and grammar schools for colored pupils, as well as white, but separate from the white schools. The state of Louisiana also maintains in New Orleans the Southern University, for the higher education of colored people. There has never been any action by the school board, or by any other official organization in this city, discontinuing or closing the grammar schools for negroes.

“As to the Lafon school, the facts are that it was not built by a negro for the education of negroes, but was erected and established by the city of New Orleans for the education of negroes. The only way in which the school was associated with Thomy Lafon was that it was named by the city in his honor. Lafon was a colored man who had amassed a considerable fortune, which, by his will, was in large part left to charities, such as orphan asylums, hospitals, homes for the indigent aged and the like. While his bequests were chiefly left to institutions for the benefit of persons of his race, this was not entirely the case, for several bequests went to similar institutions for whites, but mainly to the Charity Hospital, where the sick and wounded of all races and colors are cared for.

“Now that the premises upon which GUNTON's has based its line of argument against the white people of New Orleans have been proven false, the entire argument itself falls to the ground.”

GUNTON's MAGAZINE has no desire to misrepresent or unfairly criticize the conditions existing or policies adopted in any city or section of the country. On the contrary, it is anxious at all times to present the exact facts and discuss them with entire fairness.

Therefore, in the light of the *Picayune's* denial, we

have taken the pains to write to several reputable authorities in the city of New Orleans to obtain additional testimony upon the subject. We have the following in reply, from Mr. William Beer, Librarian of the Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans:

"On interviewing the authorities of the school board I find that the only change that has been effected in the education of the colored children in this city has been to suppress the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, and increase the space and teaching power dedicated to the first five grades. It was found by experience that colored children who had passed through the earlier grades preferred to enter the earlier classes of the four universities for colored people in this city. Of these, one is supported by the state; consequently it came about that the space and teaching power in the higher grades of public schools was so little used that the per capita expense became abnormally high. The result has been that almost double the number of colored children are receiving the benefit of education in the public schools, and are being prepared for the higher education which they will obtain either in the state university for colored people, or in three other universities supported for their benefit. The Lafon school was, as the article shows, only a name."

We have also received thus far one other reply, from Mrs. Julia Truitt Bishop, literary editor of the *Daily Item*, one of New Orleans' oldest journals, and which describes itself as politically independent. Mrs. Bishop interviewed Superintendent Easton of the public schools, and makes the following statement:

"In the colored public schools, the sixth, seventh and eighth grades have been cut out by the board for the reason of the small attendance in those grades. Superintendent Easton says, that it is probable the board will restore the grades when negroes show a

disposition to take advantage of them. In the meantime there are four negro universities in the city, one of which is free, and those who are anxious for a higher education have this recourse."

It appears, therefore, that our original statement was not a misrepresentation so far as concerns the fact of negro education in the grammar grades having been discontinued in New Orleans. The reasons assigned for the change, in the letters above published, may be entirely sufficient, but this is no adequate reason why the *Picayune*, which is looked upon in the North as the representative New Orleans organ of public opinion, should flatly deny the facts in the case and accuse northern journals of deliberate falsification when they state these facts. If the *Picayune* had frankly admitted the discontinuance of negro education in the higher grades, and proceeded to defend it along the lines stated in Mr. Beer's letter, it would have been a contribution to public information on the subject and avoided the unpleasant appearance of seeking to cover up an indefensible policy. Conceding the situation to be as stated by Mr. Beer, there is no reason why the *Picayune* should not have discussed it in the same way. A flat denial, under such circumstances, invariably creates the suspicion that there is a side to the case not fully and fairly presented. Neither the New Orleans press nor that of the South in general will find it easy to convince northern people of the integrity and fairness of southern policy as to negro education, when northern criticisms are met by wholesale denial of facts, coupled with something bordering very close on abuse, instead of by temperate argument and discussion of the true situation.

If, as is stated by Mr. Beer, the upper grades have been closed because of the light attendance, and more opportunities offered in the lower grades, while higher

education for negroes is furnished by four universities, we can see little ground for criticism of this rearrangement on the part of the New Orleans school board. The only reason for suspecting that there may be an unrevealed side of the case is the fact of the *Picayune's* denial that any change at all has been made.

We took occasion not long ago to commend in the strongest terms the new policy of municipal improvement in New Orleans, involving a rate of expenditure, for a long time to come, hardly to be matched by any other city in the country. We have no desire to misrepresent the attitude of the city towards the negro problem. Whether it is precisely true that the attendance of negroes in the higher grades of the grammar schools is so light that to discontinue these grades was wise policy is a question of fact upon which probably neither Mr. Beer nor Mrs. Bishop undertook to get positive information. It may be that the new step was designed, as is claimed, to distribute more effectively the opportunities for negro education in the city, and if so we are glad to withdraw our criticism. But it could be wished that the general and traditional southern policy towards the negro, politically, educationally and industrially, were such as to warrant more complete confidence in the justice and necessity of a step which, on its face at least, is a withdrawal of an educational opportunity.

ONE OF MISS GOULD'S PRIVATE PHILANTHROPIES

CHARLES BURR TODD

Miss Helen Gould has many private charities of which the public rarely hears. Of these the one that interests her most no doubt is Woody Crest, her fresh-air home and school for the children of the poor, at Tarrytown, New York. The home is only about a mile from her own country house, Lyndhurst, and is one of those square, solid stone mansions with broad piazza, wide hall and high ceilings which the Dutch settlers were in the habit of rearing a century ago. It stands on the crest of a wooded hill, one of the range which divides the valley of the Hudson from that of the Saw Mill River, and about two miles distant from either. The view from its front porch is superb: rich intervalles green with grass and springing wheat and shaded by groves clad in the crimson and scarlet of autumn are at one's feet; while farther away flows the silver tide of the Hudson with dark mountains for a background. Miss Gould bought the house, with thirteen acres of land surrounding it, in 1893, and at once organized her beautiful charity. Its practical working is best described in the words of Miss Miriam Jagger, the matron in charge:

"Our fresh-air work begins on June 1st. Eighteen crippled girls, selected by the visiting physician of the Hospital for the Ruptured and Crippled, are entertained during June. July, August and September are devoted to children, both boys and girls, from the Sunday-schools of the New York city mission, who are chosen by its missionaries. Each company of eighteen stays

two weeks and is succeeded by a fresh one. The children range in age from six to twelve years, and a missionary accompanies them in order that they may not feel themselves wholly among strangers. The last two weeks in September we take working boys over fourteen, who are obliged to work to help maintain their families and who could not afford a vacation at their own expense, while the last two weeks in September are given up to babies from the day nurseries of New York.

"It is a fortunate child that comes to this breezy home from the stifling heat of the tenements, and the two weeks spent here usually give them a new lease of life. Everything they get is of the best. We raise our own vegetables both for winter and summer, of every variety. The milk farm of the estate, with its herd of thirty Jersey cows, adjoins us, and I send the coachman down every morning with a requisition for what is wanted. The children have fresh milk three times a day. We have a gardener, a second man, a coachman and three horses. Every afternoon the children are taken to drive. Last summer the boys were driven to the Hudson, to Miss Gould's private dock, to swim. Then the Gould estate extends back nearly to the Saw Mill River, much of it beautiful forests, high timber, all of it free to us, and we take the children through it on long rambles, instructing them in nature studies. They tell their parents when they go back that it seemed like heaven up here. A public-school teacher in the city writes me that one of our boys, who is in her class, is doing splendidly this year, and she attributes it to the health and strength gained with us.

"I do not consider the fresh-air work the most important, however," Miss Jagger continued. "Our winter school for boys is more so. This begins on November 1st and ends June 1st. We teach the com-

mon English ranches and manual training. This winter we have sixteen boys. The well boys are selected by the superintendent of the city mission, Mrs. J. L. Bainbridge, who takes her missionaries into consultation, and they select boys who are ailing and need country air, or who cannot find a place in the public schools, or who are orphaned with no home but the streets. The lame and crippled boys are selected by the visiting physician of the Hospital for the Ruptured and Crippled.

"We are quite proud of our class in manual training, under the care of Miss M. Buck, who teaches in the best schools in New York city. She assures us it is the best class she has in her work. Paper-work or basket-work is given them first, then sloyd, then carving, then iron-work. Here are some of the articles they have made."

Miss Jagger opened the door of the old-fashioned china closet in the corner of the room and displayed quite a variety of articles of excellent workmanship; indeed a skilled handicraftsman might have been proud of them. There were paper boxes in great variety of form and color, carved wood-work of various designs, and a number of examples of ornamental iron-work, as photograph holders, thermometer frames, paper-weights, etc.

The students edit and publish a monthly paper, *The Woody Crest Monthly*, the subscription price of which is twenty-five cents. Formerly, type for this was set up and the paper printed by the manual-training class, but the compositor and printer, Edward Tape, a lad of great promise, died in December, 1898, and there has since been no one to take his place.

It is the intention to build a large addition next summer and materially increase the capacity of the school.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

German Germany is not only the pioneer but
Industrial probably the leader, to-day, in technical
Education industrial education. A considerable
portion of German success in foreign trade competition
may be credited to this cause, although its influence
has been much overestimated in certain quarters. The
fact of possessing practically the equivalent of the best
machinery, operated by lower-wage labor, is the chief
reason why Germany has been able to compete, not only
with England in foreign markets, but in the English
market itself.

The newest proposed step in German industrial
and commercial education is a commercial university at
Hamburg. For the present it will confine itself to
such scientific subjects as bear directly upon commerce,
but an effort is to be made to induce large industrial
works to cooperate with the new institution and make
it possible for students to obtain practical industrial
experience which theoretical training does not fur-
nish.

Berlin also will probably soon have a higher com-
mercial school, one of the special features of which will
be the study of English, as 33 per cent. of Germany's
export trade goes to England and her colonies and the
United States. The Prussian government is giving
much attention to the increasing demand for technical
training. The amount set apart for this purpose has
been increased nearly 75 per cent. in four years, but, as
this is still considered insufficient, a special committee
has been appointed to see how the appropriation can be
further augmented.

**Educating
Filipinos**

If we are to have the Philippine problem permanently on our hands, its ultimate solution will come, not by force, but through the slow in-working of industrial and educational influences. Like the bringing of one thousand Cuban teachers to Harvard last summer, the recently started movement to educate young Filipinos in the United States is in the right direction. Already, two of our leading universities, Yale and Columbia, have each offered free tuition to five Filipinos. Of course, the obvious defect in this plan is the possibility, even probability, that these young men when once trained in American ideas and familiarized with American opportunities will decline to return and work among their own people, and there is no law that could compel them to do so. The really effective step would be to establish a university on American lines, right in the Philippines. This would be a center of civilizing influence placed exactly in the spot where the need exists. What we now spend every three or four weeks on bayonet civilization in the Philippines would build and equip a fine institution of learning in Manila,—and this is not to say that we can or ought, having come thus far, to stop short of suppressing the insurrection. It simply means that when peace is restored, if ever it is, the same moral obligation that is now supposed to justify our military expenditures will apply even more forcibly to the furnishing of liberal opportunities for the development of as high a state of civilization as tropical conditions will permit.

**Meager School
Facilities in
Porto Rico**

The report of M. G. Brumbaugh, commissioner of education for Porto Rico, is virtually a strong plea for more teachers, better facilities and better systems in the island. The present facilities only provide for 88,000 students, leav-

ing 300,000 children of school age without means of securing an education. Small as the number of enrolled students is, it is far too great for the number of teachers, the average being only one teacher for more than 100 pupils. Such a proportion makes good work impossible.

The report states that Porto Rico contains no public school buildings and no public colleges or universities; 80 per cent. of the people are illiterate, while thousands of children are half-clothed, half-housed and half-fed. There are now over 100 American teachers and more are demanded, provided they can teach Spanish and are in earnest, not mere seekers after novelty. Commissioner Brumbaugh's report is a reflection, in certain respects, on the work of his predecessor, General Eaton, who was the first commissioner of education under American rule, and is naturally criticized by friends of the latter as being exaggerated and unfair. It may be that sufficient recognition is not given to the improvements started by General Eaton, but there is little reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of Commissioner Brumbaugh's statement of the existing conditions. They may be much better than under Spanish rule and still be very bad indeed; it is hard to imagine what a school system can be with no public school buildings. How the Porto Rican legislature deals with this problem will be an interesting test of its capacity to exercise the powers of government.

Save the
English Tongue!

Why the teachers in the public schools of New York city should be directed to reduce the amount of time devoted to the teaching of English grammar is one of the things that, on the surface at least, is beyond comprehension. If the object is to permit a larger attention to the study of English by more approved methods than formal con-

ning of text-books on grammar, then without doubt the course of wisdom has been adopted. But if the time taken from grammar is to be given to anything except English, it is a mistake, regardless of what the subjects are that will take its place.

If there is any one subject in which American school children are deficient it is the proper use of the English language. How anybody, who overhears the average conversation of a crowd of average school boys, can come away with anything but the sort of feeling he would have after witnessing a murder, is incomprehensible except on the theory that the man is himself a regular perpetrator of linguistic crimes. Fortunately, there are many exceptions among school boys on the side of good clean speech, but, in the large cities especially, the English language in the mouths of school boys is largely—one is tempted to say chiefly—an outpouring of vulgar slang, barbaric sentence construction, and pronunciation so drawling and slovenly that the street gamin's influence is apparently proved far more powerful than anything brought to bear in the school-room. It may be that formal grammar study is being discarded as bad in method, but, if any change is to be made in the time devoted to English, *double it!* To reduce it would be a crime.

Dr. Gilman and
Johns Hopkins

The retirement of Daniel C. Gilman from the presidency of Johns Hopkins University, because of advanced age, has again brought into prominence the extraordinary nature of his service to American educational progress. Perhaps no other educational institution in the country has stood so conspicuously for high standards of research and instruction, in preference to imposing buildings and numberless "fad" courses, as has Johns Hopkins under President Gilman's direction during the last

quarter of a century. It is probably true, as the *Philadelphia Press* says in the course of an able editorial on the subject, that no institution with means so small has exercised so large an influence in shaping educational methods and elevating educational standards in this country. The custom of issuing university publications, containing the results of the original research of experts, which has now become a feature of nearly all our universities, originated at Johns Hopkins; and, although these publications never do and never will have a popular character or influence, their service in affording a constant test of educational methods and the character of current instruction, conveying to all colleges and universities the results of the best work that is being done anywhere, has been and is of the highest importance. Dr. Gilman's long association with Johns Hopkins (he became president in 1875) has so identified him with the institution that it will be hard to think of anyone else in his place. Probably the man best fitted to succeed him, to carry on the work in the same spirit and with full appreciation of its high purpose, is Professor H. B. Adams, head of the department of historical and political science in Johns Hopkins. It is encouraging to note that Professor Adams is the man who is now being most prominently mentioned for the place.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Ethnology at the Pan-American Exposition

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE:

Dear Sir:—I would be very glad if you would call the attention of your readers to the department of ethnology and archæology of the Pan-American Exposition. The exposition has provided a circular building 128 feet in diameter and has also arranged for a "Six Nation" Indian exhibit on the grounds with a representation of the typical "Long House" of the Iroquois and an attendance of some sixty Indians who will be engaged in such industries as basket-making, wood-work, etc. As these Indians are pagans and have preserved to a great degree their ancient customs, they will celebrate in appropriate seasons their various thanksgiving festivals, dances and other rites.

It is not too early to assure the public that the promises of such institutions as the American Museum of Natural History, The Peabody Museum, University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago and the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, as well as the friendly co-operation of the ministers of the South American republics, guarantee the success of this department. At the same time, there is always room for more, and, as

the aim of this department is not so much to get together a large miscellaneous collection of relics as to afford a means of popular instruction in American archæology, it is desired that students from all parts of the country shall send on exhibits or memoranda descriptive of results obtained in their special fields of labor. For example, one exhibit will show the animals domesticated by the aborigines of the western continent and will explain why the lack of large useful animals capable of domestication hampered the development of civilization in the new world.

Through the cooperation of the department of agriculture and horticulture, exhibits will be made of the plants cultivated in both North and South America before the discovery.

One point we would like to have made perfectly clear, namely, that mercenary collectors will not find the Pan-American Exposition a source of revenue, although there would be no objection to a modest advertisement placed in a case of relics which are otherwise of scientific value.

A. L. BENEDICT, Buffalo, N. Y.

QUESTION BOX

Future of the Democratic Party

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR:—In your lecture on "The Passing of Bryan," published in November, you said that it would "probably be a long time before a person of Mr. Bryan's stamp will again get possession of the democratic party."

What signs are there of any new forces at work in that party? Can anybody tell what it stands for if Bryanism is taken out? What issue has it to rally round that the American people have not already buried beyond the hope of resurrection? For one I believe that, although Bryan may drop out, what is meant by Bryanism really represents whatever there is of opposition to the principles and tendencies of the now dominant party in this country. Old issues are gone; old party characteristics are being merged into new forms, and the issue of the future is going to be sharply drawn in a deadly struggle; vested interests and individualism on the one side, against socialism on the other.

R. P. E.

Our correspondent has stated the case well. Bryan may be gone—probably he is,—but the ideas for which he stood are by no means gone. They may lull for a little while, especially if business prosperity continues, but with the first signs of business depression they will surely reappear. All the issues which rallied under the name of Bryanism were essentially of a socialistic character; they expressed different degrees of doubt and distrust of existing institutions; they stood for social and political revolution. The struggle in the

future, and it may be in the immediate future, will indeed be a struggle between the right of individual initiative and some form of socialistic experiment. How deadly this struggle will be will depend largely upon the wisdom of the owners of wealth and organizers of industry on the one hand, and the informed intelligence of the masses on the other. The character of the struggle will largely depend upon how far social prejudice and class feeling among the laborers shall be superseded by knowledge and wholesome views on industrial relations and political policies. If the wisdom of the wealthy is at all commensurate with their interests and their duty to society, they will recognize the importance of aiding the work of industrial and political education among the masses as the only source of safety for society against the havoc of disintegrating experiments with socialism.

Is Civilization Decaying ?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The rapid growth of vice in our large cities is an evidence of dry-rot at the heart of our civilization, and brings to mind the beginning of Rome's degeneracy so forcibly that it is no wonder men tremble for the future of the republic. It is easy to be optimistic when these things are only in the stage of being merely signs and portents, but nobody in Rome realized what was coming until it actually came. In these days of fast living and chasing of money and pleasure, there is a decay of individual conscience and individual sense of strict morality. What can be done to turn the current before it is too late?

M. H.

The pessimism of our correspondent is unduly great. There is no "evidence of dry-rot at the heart of our civilization." The progressive forces in the community

are neither dry nor rotten. The heart of our civilization is sound, our people as a whole are honest, their motives are upright, and their faith in progress is strong. There are some evidences of political corruption and social impurity and industrial greed, but these are really but specks on the surface of a general wholesomeness. We would not underrate the importance of eliminating these evidences of vice in various forms, but it is well to understand the case correctly and not mistake a few miscreants for all society.

It is true that the most serious problems of the twentieth century will be municipal. While the cities are the seat of our civilization, they are also the birthplace of economic and political iniquities. The chief evil in the political methods of our cities is due, not to the depravity of the people, but to the imperfection of our political machinery. In the evolution of political freedom we have at last reached the point of protecting the vote of the citizen by the ballot, so that the evil which has been so conspicuous during the greater part of this century, of coercing and otherwise corruptly influencing elections, has substantially disappeared. The remnant of that corruption is now limited to the methods by which candidates for office are nominated, and very naturally that shows itself with the greatest force in large cities. The next step in political progress is to extend the secret ballot, which has given such security and protection to citizens at the polls, to the caucus machinery for nominations. The corruption to-day exists at the sources of nomination. There is where the buying and selling and trading is done. There is where the corruption is practised. There is where the office-holder is used as an instrument for corrupt manipulation by the bosses. The masses of the people are honest, and they protest against this, they are disgusted, and their disgust is making them

indifferent, not because they share the evil but because it seems beyond their reach. The remedy for this is to substitute nominations by petition and secret ballot for the corruptible, patronage-packed, delegate conventions. Then the people will have the same power in nominating candidates for mayor that they have now in voting for them after they are nominated. With high-minded, characterful city officials, whose nomination as well as election is made by the free choice of the people, the jobbery, corruption and political vices now so conspicuous in city administrations would rapidly disappear.

The Anti-Tammany Campaign

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What do you regard as the most feasible method of electing an anti-Tammany mayor in New York city? The citizens' union is again in the field, and so is the republican party. If they fail to come together, as they failed in 1897, the people will have to practically abandon one or the other organization if the city is to be saved. Which shall it be? L. A. S.

There appears to be only one feasible method of electing an anti-Tammany mayor, and that is to organize a municipal campaign and nominate a candidate outside the strictly party lines. The citizens' union made a great many enemies by its blunders in 1897. It arrogantly asserted to itself the sole prerogative of conducting an anti-Tammany campaign, refusing definitely to associate or enter into any arrangement with the republicans. Such short-sighted egotism naturally prevented the republican organization from cooperating. This made unity of the anti-Tammany forces impossible, and hence there were three candidates and Van Wyck was elected. The citizens' union has learned some-

thing since then, and it is to be hoped the republican organization has learned something, but there is one thing manifest to all observers; namely, that while the people of New York are disgusted with Tammany rule there is a very prevalent feeling that to transfer the administration of the city from Tammany under Croker to the republican organization under Platt would be very little if any improvement, at least that the improvement would scarcely be worth the effort. In short, the best people of New York, and probably seventy-five per cent. of those who voted for McKinley, have no faith in the Platt organization. For this reason, any nomination for mayor in 1901 by the republican organization, under any circumstances, means defeat. It must be general cooperation of all opposed to Tammany and under leadership other than the Platt organization or success will be impossible. Mr. Platt cannot lead a successful movement against Croker. The people will not follow him because they know, as the facts are now in hand, that Mr. Platt, if not personally then through his followers like Quigg and Bidwell, trades with Tammany, and the people have no faith in leaders who trade with Tammany. Whether it is the citizens' union movement or another and more largely republican movement which shall make the campaign in 1901 against Tammany, one thing is absolutely certain, that a successful contest cannot be made by the republican organization.

Southern Representation in Congress

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—On page 34 of the *Lecture Bulletin* for November 15th the statement is made that: "The southern states have representation in congress to-day nearly one-third larger than they are entitled to be-

cause of their suppression of the legal rights of colored citizens."

I question the correctness of this statement. Is not representation based on population and not on voters? Will you kindly put me in the correct position on this statement? I have seen it made several times this fall but supposed it to be an oversight.

J. M. G.

It is true that representation is based on population rather than on the number of voters. The fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, which covers this point, says: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed."

But this same fourteenth amendment also provides for exactly such a situation as is now presented in the several southern states which have disfranchised the negro. Here is the provision:

"But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such state, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

There is no question, therefore, as to the propriety and even the constitutional obligation of reducing the representation of the southern states which have disfranchised the negro. As a matter of fact, this applies not merely to Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, but to practically all the southern states, for in no one of them is negro suffrage much more than a

farce. The extent to which the South has excess representation in congress is a question of fact only, and an approximate idea of it may be gained by comparison of recent population and election statistics.

The 1900 census returns for total population are at hand, but the figures showing the number of males over 21 years of age have not yet appeared. We have these figures, however, for 1890, and it is fair to assume that the rate of increase in the total number of males over 21 and the number of colored males over 21 has been substantially the same as the rate of increase in total population in the various states. The following table for the southern states shows the total number of males over 21, estimated in this way, also the total vote cast for McKinley and Bryan this year, the difference between the total number of legal voters and those actually voting, the total estimated number of colored males over 21, and the percentage by which the legal voters outnumber those who actually voted:

STATE	Total Males over 21, in 1900 (Estimated)	Total Vote cast in 1900 (Scatter- ing votes not reported)	Legal voters not voting, 1900	Total male negroes over 21, in 1900 (Estimated)	Per cent. of excess, legal vot- ers over those actually voting
Alabama	393,000	150,037	242,963	170,000	161
Arkansas	300,000	125,842	174,158	82,000	138
Florida	129,000	35,506	93,494	51,000	263
Georgia	480,000	116,735	363,265	216,000	311
Louisiana	310,000	61,840	248,160	144,000	401
Mississippi	325,000	57,459	267,541	180,000	465
North Carolina	401,000	290,733	110,267	127,000	37
South Carolina	275,000	49,982	225,018	155,000	450
Tennessee	460,000	236,105	223,895	105,000	94
Texas	731,000	484,800	246,200	139,000	50
Virginia	424,000	261,945	162,055	147,000	61

It will be seen, therefore, that taking these states as a whole, the number of possible voters is more like three times that of the actual voters than one-third more, as was stated in the *Bulletin* lecture to which our correspondent refers.

Of course, nobody believes that the extraordinary discrepancy between the possible and the actual vote in these southern states is due entirely to the failure of the white people to vote. In some cases the difference between the possible and the actual vote is much larger than, even more than double, the entire number of negro voters, which allows a liberal margin for white non-voters and leads irresistibly to the conclusion that practically none of the negroes voted.

Necessarily, the total vote cast in any election never equals the total number of possible voters, but nowhere else in this country is there anything approaching the remarkable discrepancies in the South. Even in Cuba, this year, in the first general election ever held, the registration was much larger in proportion to population than the vote in some of the southern states. The statement, therefore, that southern representation in congress is one-third larger than the conditions prescribed by the fourteenth amendment justify, is well within the facts. It would be conservative to say that the representation in several of these states is more than double what the constitution authorizes under the conditions there existing.

BOOK REVIEWS

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES; 1846-1861. By Jesse Macy, A.M., LL.D. Half leather, 316 pp., with bibliography and index. \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The real distinction between factions, parties and propagandists is very seldom distinctly recognized. Indeed, it would be not far from the truth to say that they are commonly if not generally confused. Yet there is a real difference. Each pursues a different object and frequently exercises a different influence. When we confuse their functions we frequently misinterpret their object. This subject is ably discussed and clearly defined by Professor Macy in the little volume under consideration. In discussing modern political parties he defines a political party as a conscious organic agency of the people for the attainment of good government; in other words, a conscious organization whose specific object is to transform public opinion into public policy.

Professor Macy fixes the date for the advent of political parties at the passage of the first reform bill in England in 1832. We commonly speak of parties existing in England from the reign of the Stuarts, and conspicuously after the revolution of 1688, but these the author explains as political factions. They differed from political parties in that they were in no sense organs of public opinion. They did not represent any public opinion; they took no means to consult public opinion or to ascertain what public opinion was on any theme of current interest. They did sometimes stand for a certain policy as against the government, but in this they represented no expression of opinion by the country. They were for the most part small bands

who, sometimes for good motives and sometimes not, struggled for a share in the administration, for the right to be near the throne, the chief reason being, it is needless to say, that nearness to the throne brought richer emoluments.

The political party differs entirely from this in that it is an organized representative of external opinion, the opinion of some section at least of the public, and the object of the party is to transform that opinion into law.

The propaganda group differs both from the faction and the party in that it is a more or less organized body whose object is to create public opinion. It is not so much the representative of any section of public opinion as the proclaimer of an idea which it endeavors to convert into public opinion. Lincoln seems to have recognized this distinction, so well brought out by our author. When Wendell Phillips called on him during the war to remonstrate against his toleration of slavery, urging that Mr. Lincoln make abolition and not union merely the issue of the war, Lincoln replied: Your function and mine are different; yours is to make public opinion, mine is to use it. You make public opinion in favor of abolition and I will use it as fast as you can make it.

Professor Macy has not merely related the history of political parties in the United States, but he has discussed the subject. Moreover, he has discussed it with a delightful clearness which makes the book at once instructive and interesting. It is a little book which contains a fund of information for young readers, and may be read with interest and profit by students. It discusses in a clear, concise manner the existence and work of factions in the evolution of political institutions and the preparation for the rise of responsible political parties. Its account of the origin, character and devel-

opment of political parties in this country is full enough to be clear and interesting, and brief enough not to be tedious. It brings the history down to the war. It is an excellent contribution to the discussion as well as to the history of the subject.

THE LAW AND PRACTICE OF TAXATION IN MISSOURI. By Frederick N. Judson, of the St. Louis bar. Cloth, 358 pp. E. W. Stephens, Publisher, Columbia, Missouri.

Mr. Judson prepared this volume because he felt strongly impressed with the fact that before citizens can demand reform in taxation they must know what it is, how it has been developed and how it has been enforced. The result is not a general treatise on taxation but a history of taxation in Missouri, the present system and proposed amendments.

In discussing the present system Mr. Judson points out its effective and ineffective features, some of the former being the valuation of such properties as are of an interstate character by a central state authority, the assessing of the shares of stock of banks, trust companies and domestic insurance companies, and the method of collecting delinquent taxes. Among the inefficient features are found inequality of taxation, direct personal taxation and double taxation. The separation of the sources of state and local revenue as a remedy for unequal taxation, and adoption of an inheritance tax as an effective method of reaching personal property, are some of the changes suggested. Although inheritance taxes are taxes on personal property, Mr. Judson seems fully to appreciate the fact that modern scientific investigation of taxation is resulting in an almost universal trend of the best opinion away from any further efforts at personal direct taxation. Taxes levied on real property only, as near as possible

to the sources of production, are most equitably distributed throughout the community, and reach the owners of personal investments far more certainly and uniformly by this indirect method than by any direct forms of personal property taxation ever devised.

MONETARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Charles J. Bullock, Ph. D. Half leather, 273 pp., with bibliography and *brief* index. The Macmillan Company, New York.

If one takes up this book with the idea that it is a consecutive history of the monetary system of the United States he will be disappointed. It is really three essays or lectures, put together in book form. The first is a brief review of the monetary experience of the United States, covering three centuries. Although this survey of monetary history is crowded into 121 pages, it contains a good deal of information upon the subject, and withal there is a streak of sound banking doctrine running through it.

The second paper is a history of paper currency in North Carolina and the third is on the history of paper currency in New Hampshire. Both of these essays are confined to the colonial era. Much of the matter, however, in these essays is of interest only to investigators who desire early data, and shed little if any light upon modern monetary questions. The author has taken great pains in giving frequent and sometimes copious foot-note references. It is, in short, a contribution to early data upon the subject, which evidently involved painstaking effort, and as such it is a creditable product.

THE ENGLISH SENTENCE. By Lillian G. Kimball, instructor in English, State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Cloth, 12mo, 244 pp., 75 cents. American Book Company, New York.

This book, which is intended as a continuation of grammar study, ought speedily to find a place in the high schools and normal schools for which it is intended. The style is so easy and natural that the book is readable as well as instructive. Its object is the analysis of the English sentence in relation to the thought embodied. This takes the study of grammar out of the realm of rules and definitions only, gives it life and meaning, and trains the student to interpret the speech of others and give correct expression to his own ideas.

The sentences for analysis have been chosen from the writings of reputable authors of the present century. No attempt is made to criticize the sentence structure, the object of the analysis being to determine the efficiency of the sentences in conveying thought to the mind of the reader.

THE WORLD'S BEST PROVERBS AND SHORT QUOTATIONS. By George Howard Opdyke, M.A. Cloth, 271 pp. Laird & Lee, Publishers, Chicago, Illinois.

This compilation shows a careful selection from the most important collections in all languages, and a classification quite different from the usual order of such works. An alphabetical arrangement by subjects has been adopted which weaves the proverbs into essays, making the book readable as well as useful for reference.

Disraeli said: "There seems to be no occurrence in human affairs to which some proverb may not be applied," and, judging from the variety of topics covered in this volume, he would seem to have been very nearly right.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Spencer and Spencerism. By Hector Macpherson, author of "Thomas Carlyle," and "Adam Smith." Cloth, 241 pp., \$1.25. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

The History of Colonization. From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Henry C. Morris. 2 vols., crown 8vo, cloth, gilt tops, 459-383 pp., \$4. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Jesus Christ and the Social Question. An Examination of the Teaching of Jesus in its Relation to some of the Problems of Modern Life. By Francis Greenwood Peabody, Plummer professor of Christian morals in Harvard University. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Settlement after the War in South Africa. By M. J. Farrelly, LL.D., barrister at law, advocate of the supreme court of Cape Colony. 8vo, cloth. 321 pp., \$4. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Venetian Republic: Its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall. 421-1797. By W. Carew Hazlitt. 8vo, cloth, gilt tops, maps, 2 vols., 814-815 pp., \$12. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The United States Naval Academy. By Park Benjamin, of the class of 1867. 494 pp., \$3.50. A history of the evolution of the American navy. With 70 illustrations. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Two Women in the Klondike. The Story of a Journey to the Gold-Fields of Alaska. By Mary E. Hitchcock. \$3. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. With a folding map of Alaska and 500 illustrations.

The Life of William Ewart Gladstone. Edited by Sir Wemyss Reid. 2 vols., \$4.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Containing over 200 illustrations.

FROM DECEMBER MAGAZINES

"The close of the century is signalized by a notable step taken by Russia in abolishing deportation as a part of her penal system, with the exception of a small penal colony for political and habitual offenders. This is a step long contemplated by Russia, and now determined upon after the most positive evidence of the evils of deportation to Siberia. Russia is about to make provision in prisons for 14,000 more prisoners; and she has appropriated \$3,520,000 for the new buildings which must be erected for the 8,000 who cannot be accommodated in existing prisons."—S. J. BARROWS, in "Progress in Penology;" *The Forum*.

"If only Gutenberg could return to the world, with what astonishment would he behold his art, fit for delicacy and learning, used to record the tattle-tattle of a not too refined society? Would he not feel shame at his own invention, when he witnessed the ardent ingenuity wherewith men and women intrigue to obtain press notices for themselves and their friends, the active indiscretion wherewith the journals belittle the heroes of our time? And might he not justly refute Lamartine, declaring that the printing press is not the telescope, but the microscope of the soul?"—CHARLES WHIBLEY in "Jubilee of the Printing Press;" *The North American Review*.

"The problem in China is not how to get the most work out of a man, but how to divide a given piece of work so as to give the greatest possible number of men a chance to make a day's living out of it. The cheapest thing in the empire is a man, and therefore labor-saving devices are not in demand. How cheap this Chinese labor actually is may be better understood

when it is known that, in certain parts of the empire, Chinese carpenters have proved that it is cheaper to saw up logs into planks by the use of hand labor than with a sawmill; while in the great Kaiping mines, which have been developed under English engineers, it has been found cheaper to bring the coal to the surface by the use of human labor than to use engines, stationed at the very mouth of the mines and run with coal taken from them."—"Highways and Byways;" *The Chautauquan*.

"The law of consolidation of capital and division of labor holds as good in the field of distribution as in that of production. It is inevitable, and it is profitable. The department stores and the mail-order stores sell for 10 per cent. instead of for 30 per cent. profit, and the consumer thus saves 20 per cent. The profit obtained by the distributor of staples, on the way from the farmer to the consumer, is less than one-quarter what it was thirty years ago. The farmer secures a wider market, the consumer gets his staples just so much more cheaply, and the enterprising middleman avails himself of improved banking and transportation facilities to do a larger business. This is why he has adopted as his motto, 'Quick sales and small profits.'

"The real benefits of 'capitalistic production,' as compared with production on a small scale, are two-fold. The first and greatest benefit of industrial combinations goes to the whole body of the community as consumers, through reduction in prices. The next benefit, and that next most largely distributed, goes to the workers through increase of wages, and thus it happens that the workingman gains simultaneously in two ways. He gets more money for his work and more goods for his money."—CHARLES R. FLINT, in "Industrial Combinations in the United States;" *Cassier's Magazine*.



MICHAEL G. MULHALL

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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Death of Queen Victoria

Just as we go to press comes the news of the death of the aged sovereign of the British empire. Though daily expected for more than a week, the certainty that Queen Victoria is no more is none the less an impressive fact, and will shock the thought of Christendom into even keener appreciation of what the great epoch marked by her reign has meant to the world than the formal passing of the old century into the new, three weeks ago, could do, despite the tons of retrospective literature and floods of sermonizing that accompanied the event. The world sees most vividly through personality, and there is something that profoundly stirs the imagination and brings the marvels of the greatest century of human progress sharply down into the foreground in the passing away of a monarch whose life and reign have been so closely identified with it all as even to have given it the name of the "Victorian Era." Personally, the queen was not a history-making monarch. She was an exalted type of womanhood, but not a particularly aggressive or determining force in the great world movements that were developing and coming to fruition all about her. The marvelous progress of the epoch that has taken her name was the work of the world, not of any individual or group of individuals; it was the work of the masses struggling for broader liberties, of science seeking for broader knowledge, of

invention reaching out for completer mastery over nature, of literature, art and music, striving to express the highest and finest thought of the age. Victoria's place in history will not be that of England's most brilliant sovereign; rather, it will be that of the worthy head and representative of the greatest empire upon earth during the most illustrious period in human history. She will stand out less as a personality than as the personal embodiment of a wonderful age.

In our next issue, probably, we shall review some of the epoch-marking features of this reign and try to point out their significance. It is a striking and impressive evidence of the growing solidarity of the English-speaking race, no less than of the worldwide respect, transcending national bounds, for a life whose personal influence stands out far above its political, that in this city to-day the flag is everywhere floating at half-mast.

**Settlement at
Last in China**

After long delays, the representatives of the foreign powers in Peking, on December 22d, signed the note conveying to the Chinese government the conditions upon which peace could be restored. The demands submitted were grouped under twelve distinct heads, providing in brief as follows:

1. China must send a special mission to Germany with the apologies of the Chinese government for the murder of Baron von Ketteler, and erect a monument to his memory on the spot of his assassination.
2. The severest punishment for ringleaders in the Boxer uprisings, and suspension for five years of official examinations in all cities where foreigners have been subjected to outrages.
3. Reparation to Japan for the murder of Mr. Sujiyama.
4. Erection of a monument in every foreign cemetery in China which has been desecrated by the Chinese.
5. Prohibition of the importation of war materials.
6. Indemnities to all foreigners who have suffered in person or property during the Boxer uprisings.

7. A permanent guard maintained by each of the powers for its legation in Peking.

8. Destruction of forts between Peking and the sea.

9. Military occupation by the powers of certain points between Peking and the sea.

10. Publication by the Chinese government throughout the empire, for two years, of decrees prohibiting membership in any anti-foreign society, under penalty of death, and holding all viceroys and governors responsible for the maintenance of order within their districts.

11. China to give commercial and industrial treaty rights within the limits of the empire, as may be desired by the powers.

12. Reform of the Chinese department of foreign affairs.

As might be expected, the Chinese peace commissioners vigorously objected to the provisions for destroying the forts and permitting permanent guards for the legations in Peking, but it was clearly hopeless to offer any important resistance and the commissioners were ordered to sign within a week after receipt of the note. The act of signing, on January 13th or 14th, closed the first chapter in the history of the final march of western civilization into the great oriental empire that has so long struggled against all external influences. Already the British minister at Peking has proposed a new commercial treaty with China, securing new rights and guarantees of protection for foreign industry and trade within the empire. It is along this line that progress in the immediate future may be expected. The genuineness or otherwise of the pledges not to engage in any partition of China will have to be determined by experience. Faithfulness to this pledge, unless the Chinese government should utterly break down and chaos ensue, will be the test of the moral integrity of Christendom's attitude in the East.

Endless
Philippine
Warfare

The familiar report that Aguinaldo is dead comes along with the other equally monotonous items of news from the Philippines during the past month. Whatever may have

become of the Filipino leader, it is certain that there is a widespread revival of insurgent activity, especially in Luzon, and this despite the fact that early in December some 2,200 natives surrendered to General Young at Santa Maria and took the oath of allegiance to the United States. It will be remembered that President McKinley in his letter of acceptance, on September 8th last, declared that if it were not for the hope that Bryan would be elected and withdraw American authority, the Filipino insurrection would speedily cease. "But for these false hopes," he said, "a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines, and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand." This was certainly an optimistic view of the situation;—much more so than the statement by Secretary Root less than a month ago, to the members of the Senate military affairs committee, that so long as present conditions in the islands continued we should need the full strength of our army of 100,000 men. On January 3d Senator Sewell of New Jersey, a strong supporter of the administration's Philippine policy, while arguing in the senate for the army-increase bill, made this significant declaration, equally out of joint with the president's predictions:

"It is perfectly apparent to anyone who will look into the situation that we have got to continue about the same number of men (76,000 to 79,000) for some time to come. It may be for one or two years, or three years, but it ought not to be limited. . . . There is a war going on, a very serious war. It is not in great shocks of battle, which may occur one day in a month, but the loss is equal to it, taking the aggregate in a month or three months. Our troops to-day are being denuded by losses which grow out of the little posts, where they are turned out as scouts, and where they are ambushed, and all that kind of thing. The country has got to face the situation boldly as to whether we are to uphold our flag in the Philippines or not. If we are—and I take it that we shall—we certainly must provide the men with which to do it."

As a part of our policy of dealing with the situation we have begun an exile or banishment system, deport-

ing Filipino leaders to the island of Guam, pending the conclusion of peace; which from the present outlook very likely means that several of these men have seen the last of their native land. It is still further interesting to note in connection with the Philippine situation that, according to a special report from Major Edie, there are some thirty thousand lepers in the Visayas group, with practically no provision for isolating them or preventing a spread of the disease throughout the archipelago at any time. This is a problem that must be handled promptly and on a thoroughgoing, wholesale plan, involving nobody knows how much expense in ferreting out the unfortunate victims from their hiding places and conveying them to some permanent quarantined reservation. Clearly, those who defend our Philippine policy as a purely philanthropic rather than financially profitable enterprise have the bulk of the experience to support them thus far.

**Popular
Weariness with
the Situation**

There is no question but that the American people are becoming more and more tired of the entire Philippine complication, and are rapidly losing patience with the desultory movement of affairs. The Filipinos want self-government, and the long continuance of this insurrection offers increasing evidence of their probable capacity to carry it on, at least as well as many other self-governing peoples of relatively low civilization, with whose affairs we do not consider it our mission to interfere. The petition from some 2,000 leading Filipino citizens of Manila and vicinity, read in the United States senate on January 10th, is another evidence of the persistence and growth of the independence idea. The declaration in this petition that, since the revolution began, the peaceful natives engaged in their ordinary vocations have liberally supported the Filipino soldiers in the

field and seem disposed to support them so long as the war lasts, is amply borne out by the statements of General MacArthur in his official report, summarized in our December issue. At present there seems little evidence that the administration contemplates any change of policy. Senator Hoar's resolution providing that an armistice be granted the Filipinos, and that a number of their leaders be brought to the United States at our expense, with the view of arranging a suitable and honorable termination of the miserable situation now existing, was laid on the table on January 11th by a vote of 32 to 19, the only republicans voting for it being Senators Hale and Hoar. We believe the time will come, however, when Senator Hoar's attitude in this matter will be regarded as that of high statesmanship, representing the true line of policy for our government; and that if we persist in the extreme policy of subjugation by force, with complete annexation and no prospect of ultimate independence for the islands, it may be the rock of disaster for the administration's second term.

The Hawaiian Elections

Out in Hawaii, too, the policy of territorial expansion beyond the limits of natural affinity and fitness has lately received a significant setback. At the election, held early in December, for the first delegate to be sent from the new territory to the United States congress, Robert Wilcox, a half-caste Hawaiian, aggressively representing the interests of the old native monarchy, was elected over his two competitors, one a republican and the other a democrat, who were understood to be favorable to American rule. The strangeness of this lies in the fact that, for years before annexation took place, the Hawaiian people were represented as vainly and pathetically knocking at our doors, fairly pining away

with anxiety to get in. It will be remembered how the reports of the public grief when our flag went up in Honolulu came as a shock of surprise; and the recent election still further confirms the growing impression that the supposed annexation sentiment was all the time chiefly the creation of a group of American and English residents, with scarcely any native support. In fact, it is becoming clearer all the time that the nation, which for more than a century has stood as the shining type of political independence and advocate of the right of self-government, is going to find the results of that example and influence confronting it, either in sullen resentment or forcible resistance, wherever it attempts to reverse its own principle of freedom by forcing its authority upon unwilling peoples. It is a strange and unwelcome situation that we should be engaged in rooting up growths of our own planting.

**The Great
Constitutional
Question**

Meanwhile, the momentous question of the status of our new dependencies, under the constitution, is at last before the supreme court. A number of cases have been presented and argued but the issue involved is substantially the same in all. The first cases to go before the court were those involving the right of the government to collect tariff duties on certain merchandise brought from the Philippines and Porto Rico into the United States. The Philippine case is that of a soldier named Pepke, who brought back with him from the islands a number of diamond rings which were subsequently confiscated by the government. The Porto Rico case is that of John H. Goetze, who paid duties on tobacco imported from Porto Rico and is contesting the right of the government to collect such duties. In both cases the point at issue is whether these islands are parts of the United States in the sense that would bring them

under the constitution and require free rights of trade with the states. Argument on these two cases was begun in the supreme court on December 17th and concluded on the 20th, the government's contention being that these islands are not necessarily under the constitution but were annexed by the superior power of congress and may be governed by congress. It is an issue of extraordinary interest, involving an interpretation of the intent of the constitution to a degree of importance which has hardly been equalled since the great Webster-Hayne debates in the senate.

Attorney-General Griggs, in presenting the government's case, contended for the extra-sovereignty rights of congress, along lines well indicated by this brief extract:

"They [the framers of the constitution] gave to the nation they founded the usual untrammelled powers of making war and treaties, the most frequent methods by which foreign territory is acquired by the nations of the earth. If they intended to restrict or limit their own government in these respects, would they not have done so in express terms? They did not do so by any language which can even be suggested as capable of such import, and it is therefore right—nay, necessary—to conclude that they did not intend to do so. . . .

"Is the United States so bound and tied by this constitution of ours that it can never acquire an island of the sea, a belt across the isthmus, a station for a naval base, unless it be at the cost of admitting those who may happen to inhabit the soil at the time of purchase to full rights as citizens of the union, no matter how incongruous or unfit they may be, while the foreign-born inhabitant or the aboriginal red man must depend upon the grace of congress, though he dwell half a century among us?"

On the other hand, the contention of the claimants

is, in the language of Mr. Lawrence Harmon, one of the attorneys for Pepke:

"By the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, the Philippines became a part of the United States; the government and the citizens of the United States both enter said islands under the authority of the constitution, with their respective rights defined and marked out; the former can exercise no power over the person or property of a citizen of the United States beyond what that instrument confers, nor lawfully deny any right which it has reserved. . . . The president of the United States has no legislative power. The imposition of customs duties upon commerce between these islands and other parts of the United States after the treaty of peace and exchange of ratifications, by executive order, is without lawful authority, and the seizure of the property of the plaintiff in error, a citizen of the United States, under such pretended authority, constitutes a taking of his property without due process of law."

The decision in any one of these cases will practically be the decision for all. It is now expected that the court will declare against the government's contention and in favor of the position that uniform regulations must prevail throughout all the annexed territories. If so, we shall begin without further delay to see some of the consequences of our colonial policy. The bars will be thrown down, and American capitalists will be able to take the most modern machinery into these various groups of islands, employ ten-cent-a-day labor, and import the products into the United States in competition with American industries, to say nothing of the free immigration of coolies into the United States to compete with American laborers. Not only this, but each of these possessions will have the status of regular territories of the United States, in line

for statehood. Whoever imagines that any effort to convert them into states is an exceedingly remote contingency should abandon the delusion without delay. Already there is discussion of the possible admission within a few years of both Hawaii and Porto Rico.

Whichever way the court decides, the real solution of the problem will not be reached. If the constitution goes with the flag, then, as we have just pointed out, it is bars down and an open road for admission of these groups of wholly unfit population to the privileges of American citizenship. On the other hand, if the right of congress to govern these possessions outside the constitution is sustained, then the very principle of our democratic institutions is undermined. Whether that principle has been violated before, in minor instances, does not modify the fact that to violate it now, in order to permit the beginning of a new and distinctly monarchical policy of annexation and subjugation of alien peoples without their consent, would mark the first really great and fundamental departure from the rock on which our republic was erected.

The only permanently safe solution of this problem is to adopt the principle that, where the flag cannot go without danger to our institutions, it must not go at all. We must adopt in the Philippines the policy we have pursued in Cuba, and if we do so we shall be more honored in this return to the principles of true democracy than we ever could be in arbitrarily forcing through a mistaken policy under the shallow "spread-eagle" plea that where the flag has once been raised, whether right or wrong, it must never come down.

Great Railroad Deals

The wave of capitalistic consolidation that has been sweeping over the country during the last few years, reaching its height in 1899, seems to be finding its final expression

in gigantic railroad combinations. Within the last few weeks negotiations have been under way looking towards the consolidation of a system of roads that would give a through transcontinental line under one single management, including steamship lines operating in both the Atlantic and the Pacific. This consolidation, in which the chief promoter is understood to be the master railroad organizer James J. Hill, of the Great Northern, will if completed probably include the Great Northern Railway, the Northern Pacific, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and the Erie Railroad; the total mileage being nearly 20,000. At the same time, another group of roads have been passing under one control here in the East, including more especially the lines engaged in the coal-carrying trade. Mr. J. P. Morgan, who represents the controlling interest in the Philadelphia and Reading road, has recently acquired also the Central Railroad of New Jersey and the Lehigh Valley, which, with certain other smaller lines, will give to the Morgan interests more than sixty per cent. of the eastern coal shipments. The other important coal-carrying roads being under management friendly to the Morgan lines, it is estimated that fully 96 per cent. of the coal tonnage will, when these reorganizations are complete, be handled under practically uniform policy.

Railroad consolidation is no new thing. It has been progressing for many years, but never before has it taken on such tremendously far-reaching proportions. Perhaps it is natural that this should come a little later than the great tide of reorganization in manufacturing industries, for the reason that railroad interests are so vast, so widely separated geographically, subject to such complex conditions, and with interests frequently very antagonistic. If properly financed, however, and not burdened with extravagant obligations which re-

sults cannot justify, the economy of consolidation is obvious, not to mention the relief it will give from disastrous rate wars and the constant temptation to rate discriminations. The chairman of the inter-state commerce commission, Hon. Martin A. Knapp, states this aspect of the case clearly in the following interview, based obviously upon hard experience with the difficult problem of preventing discrimination where railroads are prevented by law from pooling their earnings:

"While combinations of this kind are not very desirable, in the broad sense, still I hold them preferable to conditions brought about by existing laws, especially the anti-trust law, with reference to large and small shippers by the public carriers, and which have militated against the latter to the extent of almost driving them completely out of business.

"One of these things must happen—the legalized 'pooling' of competitive traffic, general consolidation or government ownership. . . .

"I hold that railroad rates should be as uniform as the postal rates, and that the business man, small or large, should be no more concerned about his neighbor getting an advantage through lower traffic rates than about postage."

Present Status of Trusts

Meanwhile, the great field of manufacturing industry is characterized at present by somewhat of a reverse movement.

The high-water mark of reorganization has been reached and passed, and the more prominent feature now is the growth of new competition. The recent out-reachings by the Carnegie interests, including the proposed building of a vast new tube plant at Conneaut Harbor, though seeming to be a part of the trust movement are really steps in the direction of new competition with some of the great steel and iron consolidations. The *New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*, which has for a long time occupied a position largely unfavorable to trust organization, points out in a recent review of the situation that the value of the interests which have passed into great consolidations is much less than is popularly supposed, and supports this by showing that,

as a rule, only the preferred stock and bonds of the new "trusts" represent the actual value of the properties included; the common stock being for the most part non-dividend earning, for the present at least. This conclusion is at least plausible, in view of the fact that in the organization of most of the large new combinations it was a practice to give away common stock as a bonus to the promoters, and to the financial interests that could be persuaded to buy the bonds. It is clear at any rate that the gross amount represented in the capitalization of the new concerns gives a considerably exaggerated idea of the extent to which the industrial interests of the country have passed under so-called "trust" control. The same paper, on December 31st, published a classified list, showing by names and amounts of capital stock, a very large number of new independent corporations that have recently been organized to compete with the "trusts" in a variety of industries; notably wire nails, tin-plate, tubes, sheet steel, glucose, matches, baking powder, oil, paper and ice. This list makes no mention of a projected new sugar refining company in Philadelphia, nor of the recent extensive growth of competition with the United Fruit Company (banana "trust"), nor of the formation in Chicago of a new rubber shoe concern to compete with the United States Rubber Company.

In spite of this growth of competition, there have been a few instances lately of concerns which seem determined to pursue the old path of folly which nearly all the great corporations have been wise enough permanently to abandon: namely, trying to make excessive profits through "squeezing" the consumers by high prices. The Rochester Optical and Camera Company, a combination about a year old, undertook this on a large scale, and as a result its business fell in a year from \$1,500,000 to about \$800,000. Its stock has de-

clined in value, and it is reported as having great difficulty in paying dividends even on its preferred stock. At the same time, the salt combination has been raising prices to such an extent that there has actually been a notable increase of salt importations from abroad, in spite of the tariff. Just why this corporation should deliberately select a policy that has been discarded as ultimately ruinous by practically all the great well-established industries is one of the things that passes understanding. It is unfortunate that a large industry should put itself into a position where it must sooner or later learn by hard experience what it might avoid by starting out with a wise economic policy.

**A Permanent
Limitation to
"Trust" Growth**

It is interesting to note in this connection another difficulty which limits and is likely always to limit the growth of gigantic combinations beyond a certain point: namely, the increasing difficulty, as the combination extends, of securing sufficiently able managing ability to conduct successfully enterprises so vast. Professor Adams, of the University of Michigan, in a recent address delivered at the university, called attention to this feature, and it is reported in connection with it that the head of one of the great American industrial combinations has recently declared that several positions in his organization, commanding upwards of \$10,000 per year salary, were vacant from sheer inability to find men with sufficient talent and capacity for responsibility to fill them. Of course, with the further development of business along these vast new lines we may expect an increase in available managing ability, but it is doubtful if human capacity can ever be sufficiently extended to permit of effective control of widely differing industries under one management, as it is sometimes feared will eventually occur. The

probability is that the line of greatest economic efficiency (which is the line that always limits any further growth of industrial combination, because of the certainty of new competition when that line is passed) will be found to be in the organization under single management of industries of very similar character. The natural law which limits superior human ability to at most two or three distinct fields will be the permanent bar to any universal "trust." Whenever that line is passed, the economy of specialization will be more effective than the economy of organization. The independent establishment devoted to one distinct purpose will win the day against any unwieldy, unnatural combination of many diverse interests under what is certain to be at least partially ineffective management.

**Reform Efforts in
New York City**

The removal by Governor Roosevelt, on December 22d, of District Attorney Gardiner of New York city, and appointment of Eugene A. Philbin, a clean and capable democrat, in his stead, has resulted in more activity in the prosecution of violators of the law than New York has witnessed for a long time. It is at last possible to secure indictments against offenders without indefinite delay, so that those who are working for better conditions in the metropolis can now feel that at least one department of the city government is no longer in corrupt league with the lawbreakers.

Mr. Croker's wonderful "committee of five," appointed as a Tammany instrument for unearthing vice and bringing offenders to justice (!) has been chiefly occupied thus far in explaining that law-breaking does not exist to any important extent. For the very shame of the thing, the efforts of this committee cannot be wholly without fruit, but the obvious insincerity and political expediency of its work places it in the category

of things farcical so far as any permanent contribution to clean government is concerned. There has been, it is true, some shaking up of the police force, including the substitution of Captain Titus for Herlihy in the Eldridge Street district where some of the worst abuses have existed; and temporary improvement has occurred, which may be expected to last just about as long as public indignation remains sufficiently intense to cause the Tammany ring any serious apprehension. Chief Devery has refused to suspend Captain Herlihy and Inspector Cross, pending trial for neglect of duty, and the outcome is practically a deadlock between the chief and the board of police commissioners, during which further reform hangs in suspense.

The humiliating absurdity of the situation is leading up to an exceedingly strong sentiment in favor of a single police commissioner in place of the present bi-partisan board, to accomplish which a bill has already been introduced in the legislature at Albany. Whether this is the best solution of the problem experience will have to determine, but certainly nothing could be much worse than the bi-partisan board plan, which has heretofore meant either deadlock, with consequent stagnation and inefficiency of service, or else systematic trading and dealing between the two parties represented in the control of the police department. The proposed substitution of a single police commissioner does not necessarily conflict with the democratic idea of government, which ought to recognize the important difference between legislative and executive functions. The present arrangement is an attempt to embody legislative features in what is really an executive function. The true distinction should be to offer the amplest opportunity for expression of the public will in all matters involving choice of public policies, and then to provide ample power to enforce the results of the people's deci-

sion; this power to be exercised in such a way that conflict of authority will be impossible and responsibility for the results will be definite, explicit and unescapable.

Meanwhile, the committee of fifteen, organized on December 19th under the auspices of the chamber of commerce, and headed by Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr. as chairman, is planning and inaugurating a campaign of progressive reform work which ought to have wide-reaching results. It proposes to institute a thorough non-partisan investigation into the causes of the more extensive and familiar forms of vice now flourishing under police protection, and to collect evidence showing where the official responsibility rests. Next, it proposes to publish the results of these inquiries and work systematically for legislation which shall make it possible to center more effectively the responsibility for enforcement of the laws.

This committee is also arranging to undertake a campaign of public education on the conditions existing in the city and the kind of improvement in the social environments that ought to be developed as offsets to the innumerable incentives to vice and crime. If the committee can carry out even a part of this most wholesome program it will justify itself and become a permanently necessary institution. Bishop Potter, by the way, has suggested a permanent vigilance committee of several thousand members to keep constant watch on the relations between the police and protected vice, all over the city, and constantly stimulate active public sentiment in favor of wholesome civic conditions. It would be difficult to keep such an organization in good working condition for any length of time, and it might easily drift into misguided officiousness, but for a period it might have a powerful effect in rousing public conscience to a higher sense of municipal duty.

Both this plan and the efforts of the committee of

fifteen will bear fruit in the slow betterment of civic conditions, but at the present moment the most important, direct and obvious way to secure the opportunity for these efforts to yield the results expected of them is for all the forces of decency to unite in a strenuous, determined movement to oust the Tammany organization from every part of the municipal government. It is possible to do this, but it cannot be done through any one reform organization or political body. There must be a complete sinking of prejudices and differences, and harmonious union for the one object in view, if the enemy is to be dislodged and an era of decency ushered in.

Governor Odell's Meanwhile, the new governor of New
Doubtful York is trying hard to make a reform
Statesmanship record of his own and is welding his political future to the cause of economy in public expenditures. This was the keynote of his first message to the legislature, and his various suggestions are all interesting, many of them clever, some of them useful, but practically none of them reflecting any high order of statesmanship. The most important specific recommendations he makes are for the consolidation of the board of mediation and arbitration, board of labor statistics, and factory inspection department into one new department of labor, accomplishing a saving of some \$72,000 a year; consolidation of the forest preserve board and forest, fish and game commission, saving \$35,000 a year; abolition of the state board of charities, state board of health and state prisons' commission and substitution of a single commissioner in each case; abolition of the state lunacy commission and return to the old plan of separate management, saving \$750,000 a year.

Mr. Odell has a plan for abolishing all direct state

taxation by virtue of these economies, and also by increased taxation of savings banks, trust companies, insurance companies and the capital stock of corporations organized in other states but doing business in New York. There is no doubt that a larger revenue might properly be drawn from some of these sources, but this does not imply that there is either justice or economic wisdom in trying to transfer the entire burden of taxation to a few specific interests in the community. Our present system of taxation is glaringly defective at almost every point, but when it is reformed it should be reformed scientifically, with a view to securing the widest and most equitable distribution of the tax burden. This will never be accomplished by any arbitrary scheme for transferring all the taxes of the community to a few interests that happen to be unpopular on the political stump.

An economy program like Mr. Odell's may have many meritorious features, but is the program of a politician rather than of a statesman. The politician is always striving for spectacular and semi-sensational effects, always attempting to identify himself with some proposition that has elements of popularity, and if it can be something that seems thoroughgoing and radical all the better for the purpose. But this sort of thing is not possible for the statesman. The true statesman knows that genuine reform can never be accomplished by wholesale, sweeping, unqualified measures that cut down good and bad together. Economy is a word to conjure with, but it is the politician, not the statesman, that holds it up as the highest attainable wisdom in public policy.

The true end of statesmanship is to promote the greatest public welfare, whether this means saving dollars or spending dollars. Where economy will contribute to this welfare economy is good, but where it

will cripple some important branch of public service then economy is bad, and the public official who tries to make a record in defiance of this fact is no real friend to public welfare. Where sinecures exist, or useless political "job" commissions, or where waste occurs by poor organization of the service, then economy and reorganization are in order, but, where important work would be less effectively done by arbitrarily abolishing offices and reducing the number of employees, then the path of statesmanship is to point out the grounds for distinguishing between the two cases, and shape policies accordingly. In brief, Mr. Odell's attitude on this matter thus far only goes to confirm the general impression of him prior to his nomination, that he is a clever politician and shrewd business man, but lacking in broad-minded conception of the duties of progressive rational statesmanship in any large field of public affairs.

“TRUSTS” AND BUSINESS STABILITY

Business stability is a vital element in national welfare and progress. Nothing contributes so much to cheerful optimism and inspires such confidence in social institutions as continued business prosperity. It broadens the life, liberalizes the spirit, elevates the character, stimulates the growth of altruism, and strengthens the bonds of human association. It turns on the sunshine in human experience and fructifies the best there is in human nature.

On the other hand, industrial uncertainty is the most depressing fact in social experience. No other element in society is so fatal to energy, enterprise and hopeful anticipation. Laborers, business men, public officials, the workers in every calling of life, can do their best only under conditions of approximate security. Present prosperity loses much of its stimulating effect if the immediate future be shrouded in uncertainty. While business prosperity acts as the main-spring of progress, furnishing the inspiration for new ideas, new methods of doing and new standards of living, which bring new types of institutions and civilization, business depression brings doubt, distrust and pessimism, and contains the germs of disintegration and disruption. Business depressions bring economic heresies and the seeds of political revolution. The disruption in which farmers lose their land by foreclosed mortgages, merchants and manufacturers lose their

business and property by bankruptcy, and laborers are forced into idleness, creates pessimism and distrust. Under such conditions it is not unnatural for the dislocated to doubt the equity of existing institutions and feel that injustice is at the very basis of economic relations. When such feelings grow into theories, and those theories become convictions of the community, they are likely soon to be converted into political policy. This is the way revolutionary theories arise and grow into political movements. The greenback, free-silver, populist and socialist movements, which are jointly expressed in Bryan's popularity, were the cumulative result of these forces.

Had 1900 been a year of industrial depression instead of one of high industrial prosperity, nothing could have prevented Mr. Bryan with all his economic heresies and disintegrating political ideas from sweeping the country. The period of business depression and disaster from 1893 to 1896 furnished exceptional nursery conditions for the development of revolutionary economic and political theories. The doctrines of socialism promulgated by Karl Marx and Rodbertus, as the reaction against monarchical institutions in Europe, took very little root in this country so long as prosperity continued. Every industrial disturbance, like a strike or labor riot, afforded temporary opportunity for the socialist prophet, but it made little permanent inroads with the American people. The fiat-money theory represented by greenbackism, and the debased-coinage doctrine represented by free silver, were latent ideas that were starved into impotence by industrial prosperity, but a four years' period of continued depression, idleness and increased poverty furnished the opportunity for these disintegrating ideas to be worked into social and economic theories and be accepted as the higher gospel of society.

Under this protracted experience of adversity, it was easy for the suffering masses to yield a ready ear to the gospel of antagonism to capital. The theory that corporations are organized exploiters of society, that private profits are robbery, that the capitalist system is inherently unjust and that public ownership of industry is the only equitable system by which the injustices and misfortunes that afflict modern society can be abolished,—all this and the reasoning leading up to it was readily accepted. Consequently, when Mr. Bryan appeared on the scene declaring against capital and corporate industry and denouncing our industrial, financial and judicial institutions, he was at once popular with the masses, not so much for the exact formulation of his ideas as for the fact that he voiced the aggregate discontent. He was friendly to the new economic, financial and social theories that were developed under the influence of industrial depression and social hardship. Nothing but the hope and faith-inspiring influence of returned business prosperity prevented his success. The ideas and theories that were developed to a greater or less degree of exactness were not dispelled; they are still lurking in the background, and if another industrial depression overtakes us in the near future these theories will reassert themselves with increased force and vigor. Nothing but an extended period of industrial prosperity or increased opportunity for wholesome industrial and political education can prevent an experiment with doctrines of the sort Bryan represents. Business stability and widespread liberal economic education are the only forces which can prevent such a national calamity.

The characteristic feature of the progress of the nineteenth century, particularly the last half of it, is the development of the means of industrial prosperity. Science, ability, organization, and indomitable energy

have combined to increase the capacity of wealth production. Nature has been made to yield more at every touch; steam, electricity, and gravitation have been harnessed to the work. Wealth has been multiplied at a marvellously diminished cost; the wealth per capita of the community, in this country, has increased four-fold, wages have increased more than ninety per cent., the working day has been shortened by more than one-quarter, and the purchasing power of a day's work has more than doubled. All this has made for national progress and whatever is implied in a higher civilization.

But thus far this progress has been accompanied by the menacing effect of recurring industrial depressions, which furnish the soil and seed of social disruption. These business disturbances have not only accompanied the rapid progress of the century but they are a part of very rapid progress wherever it takes place. There are no business depressions in China, India, Africa, or any countries where the methods of industry are uniform and progress imperceptibly slow. There may be famines in these countries, but never business depressions. Famines are the result of failing production; business depressions are the result of irregular, unbalanced increase in production. Increased production can only be permanently beneficial to the nation when it is adjusted approximately to the consumption or market for products.

Industrial progress is itself a disturbance. It is a constant substitution of new for old, of superior for inferior methods of doing. Every such substitution brings with it some dislocation. The benefits must be greater than the injuries from dislocation, or there is no real gain. Unless the new movement absorbs the dislocated elements to their advantage, or at least not to their disadvantage, a current of reaction will be created.

Several examples of this have occurred during the last three-quarters of a century, with increasing havoc. This is chiefly due to the fact that industrial activity has been dominated by what some delight to call "natural selection." The rule of "survival of the fittest," which is blind struggle for supremacy, has prevailed in both theory and practice. The idea that unlimited and unorganized competition is the source of success and the sole solvent for economic problems has been taught by the scholar and practised by the capitalist. Hence we have had a protracted regime of struggle and strife, with the maximum waste and the minimum economic and scientific direction.

In the era of hand labor, with small production and restricted markets, this unrestricted competition had the effect of wholesome rivalry, but as production increased in quantity, markets expanded in area and competitors multiplied in number and strength, single-handed competition became mere blind struggle against the unknown. Ignorance of what others were doing, and disregard of the law of market equilibrium, have given us rapidly recurring business fluctuations, so that we have been constantly rising on a "boom" or descending with an industrial depression. Under the stimulus of advancing prices, capital rushes in as if the market demand for products were infinite, and business men borrow heavily in the effort to produce the maximum and get the quick benefit of the boom. This uneconomic stampede soon results in an inflated overdoing, with the consequence of reaction and inability profitably to dispose of products and pay credit obligations; all of which culminates in disruption and forced liquidations, destruction of confidence, and enforced idleness, with all its concomitant evils throughout society. This has been no less general in agriculture than in manufacture and commerce. When the price of corn

or cotton is high, farmers, each regardless of what the others are doing, immediately turn their energies to raising more corn or cotton, with the disappointing effect of falling prices and a depressed market.

While these reactions accompany industrial progress and expansion they are not an inevitable part of it. They are rather the result of adhering too long to blind competition as the governing force in industry. To reap the benefits of expanding industry, natural selection must be superseded by scientific selection, blind competition must yield to intelligent, comprehensive organization. Unrelated individual effort can only be successful in the realm of small things; the civilization of great things is the civilization of scientific organization.

Successful business to-day involves more than the mere capacity to produce or even to produce cheaply. It involves maintaining the equilibrium between the forces of production and consumption. This requires a knowledge of the world's economic conditions in each line of industry. To know the output and the demand in any given line of industry, and correctly to anticipate their movement so as approximately to maintain a working equilibrium, requires a knowledge of the state of invention, the amount of new machinery used, capital invested, stocks on hand, and substantially all the conditions affecting industry in every part of the world from whence competing products may come. This is impossible to individual producers or small concerns. It is only with immense capital and perfect organization that this can be accomplished. Frequent and reliable statistical advices of all the details of production, consumption, transportation, stocks on hand, and anticipated innovations, are among the necessary equipments of modern industry. Only with such information and far-reaching organization is approximately correct eco-

conomic forecast possible. With this knowledge of the world's economic conditions, industrial enterprise will be governed with more definite relation to the world's economic demand.

Another feature of present industry is the suddenness of changes in social desires and the immense quantity which it is necessary to carry for the normal supply. Small concerns are wholly incapable of adequately adjusting these conditions. With small producers, a little change and fluctuation in the public demand for products when the supply on hand is large causes numerous failures and bankruptcies; with large concerns, the stocks can be safely carried and even transferred from one section or class of demand to another. The losses involved in carrying declining supplies will be offset by the increased margin in the new supplies. Thus, what to-day would cause bankruptcies and perhaps widespread business disturbance would be absorbed in readjustment under the management of adequately large concerns.

Moreover, very large concerns have so much involved that a few mistakes will often involve the loss of millions of dollars. Such establishments cannot afford to be idle. A very small concern can close down, throw laborers out of employment, and impair the market demand of the community rather than endure loss in running. The investment is so small that the loss of stoppage may easily be much less than the loss of disadvantageous working, but in large concerns, where hundreds of millions are involved, the loss of stoppage may soon be fatal. Where world markets are the prize, the richest concerns cannot afford to retire even temporarily, lest new competitors step in and permanently secure the business.

Thus all the conditions of large enterprise tend to make the maintenance of market equilibrium or busi-

ness stability an important feature of success. It is in response to this law of business success that large corporations succeeded small ones, and so-called "trusts" made their appearance. Despite all the public opposition to large corporations, they are admittedly here to stay and have already begun to exercise a marked steadying influence upon business. In the last business disturbance, for example, which came suddenly through a threatened change of national policy, it was the smaller concerns which suddenly succumbed to the depressing wave; concerns which could not afford to carry large stocks of goods and whose financial credit was limited. Large concerns, like the Carnegie, Standard Oil and sugar companies, withstood the shock almost undisturbed.

Business depression and uncertainty, which are the bane of modern industry, can be avoided in only one of two ways, either by returning to the era of small production, or else by adopting the methods of larger and more perfect industrial organization. With the growth in size and complexity of productive enterprise must come the growth in magnitude and complexity of the organizations to deal with it. Lilliputians cannot do the work of giants. If we insist upon having small restricted concerns to deal with the colossal interests of the twentieth century, we may expect and will surely have constant disturbances and failure with their train of disrupting evils. As well might we expect to govern a modern city by the primitive town meeting as expect individual effort and small corporations adequately to deal with the colossal proportions of modern industry. Everything points to the conclusion that the real remedy for business disturbance is more perfect development of large corporations.

But here, as in every other phase of social life, the spurious comes with the genuine. In the development

of corporate enterprise as the natural method of dealing with our increasing industrial interests have come a species of uneconomic and unsubstantial organizations. In the flush of business boom, the promoters in many instances have taken the place of investors. Corporations have been organized for speculative rather than economic purposes. Advantage has been taken of the overconfidence of the public, and to give abnormal rewards to promoters and speculators a system of overcapitalization has come into vogue. This has been especially true during the last two years. With the settling down of business to normal conditions, however, these overcapitalized concerns will fail to yield encouraging profits, some of them will collapse and others be compelled to reorganize. This abnormal inflation is so uneconomic that it will bring its own retribution and teach the lesson that watered stock does not earn dividends, but that after all it is only investment and economically organized enterprise that yields permanent success. We are in some danger of condemning all corporations because of the conduct of the spurious ones, but experience will educate the public to discriminate between legitimate investment and mere speculative inflation. If bankers would refuse to lend their names and influence to watered-stock corporations, and the public refuse to invest in mere speculative industrials, buy only stocks that represent legitimate investment and established earnings, the occupation of the promoter in fabricating mere "wind" corporations would soon be gone.

Corporations, like trade unions, which are another phase of the same industrial movement, have many crude uneconomic features, but the remedy for these defects is not restriction and repression but more economic, scientific and comprehensive organization. Indiscriminate antagonism to a natural movement always

brings out its worst features. Suppression of free speech, restriction of the press, and forbidding of free public meetings always lead to inflamed secret discussion and usually to conspiracy and physical-force methods. This was true of the Fenian movement in Ireland, is true of the nihilists in Russia; and in fact wherever organized authority is used to suppress a natural movement it drives it from the field of open action to secret underhanded methods which inspire less honorable motives and develop the worst characteristics. Much of the physical force used by trade unions is the result of the same mistaken antagonism to the natural growth of labor organization. For a long time a trade union was conspiracy; then for decades it remained outside the pale of law. Its funds had no protection in court and the treasurer could steal the revenues with impunity.

It is only when the normal movement is protected by the moral sentiment and legal institutions of society that it unreservedly comes out into the light and develops its best characteristics. Nothing more effectively develops the worst in human nature than to put it under the ban. To this universal law corporations are no exception. An inflamed and perverted public sentiment against corporations, to which small-calibre politicians are ever ready to respond with petty inquisitorial repressive legislation, is the most effective means of stimulating the worst phases of corporate development. It constantly creates a presumption against the new organization and leads to numerous devices of secrecy and suppression, which grow into misrepresentation. It develops the quality of the pirate instead of true economic leadership.

CHINESE CIVILIZATION

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"INDEPENDENT"

Civilization is a word of double meaning. It sometimes means that enlightened condition of society in which each individual has the best opportunity for self-development, and in this sense it is never used in the plural. It may also mean one of several modes of social and political development whereby different styles of national life have been evolved. In this sense we may use it in the plural—as the European, Moham-medan and Chinese civilizations. Etymologically it refers to the relation between the citizen and the state, and depends upon that great law of human progress that necessitates a growing interdependence of man upon man.

The various civilizations of the world differ widely, not because of any difference in the fundamental elements of human nature but because these elements have received such different handling. Thus it comes about that we shrink from conceding any similarity between our civilization and that of such a people as the Chinese.

It must be granted at the start that the civilization of China is as highly developed as the Anglo-Saxon, but the lines of that development have been so different that it may interest us to glance at some of the more important of them, for by so doing we shall be able to discover wherein lies the lamentable failure of the Chinese system. A thorough discussion of the subject would fill a volume; we must confine ourselves, therefore, to one special phase of it—namely, what has China

retained of the great original ideas of the race and what has the West rejected.

I. China has retained the original theocratic idea, the West has rejected it. We find that in the beginnings of history kings held their seats not only by a supposed divine right but by some assumed direct connection with divinity, so that they were themselves clothed with a dignity that claimed a kinship with the divine. The reason for this is not far to seek. Let us grant for the sake of argument that the biblical account is substantially correct, then we shall find that the divine attributes given to kings was a counterpart of sacrificial offerings. The apostasy of the race cut them off from direct communion with divinity, and just as sacrifice took the place of direct worship so the direct government of God was modified to a delegated theocracy. At least the universal acceptance of the general law of divine government constrained men to recognize their temporal rulers as the seat and symbol of that government. In no other way can we account for the divine honors that were given to the ancient kings of Assyria and Babylonia, and later to the Roman emperors. It survives to-day in the expression "divine right of kings," but in our western civilization this means little more than the divine right of any man to do his own proper work whether he be king or mechanic.

The Chinese have retained the idea of a delegated theocracy and their government is the logical outcome of such a course. A delegated theocracy to succeed must have a perfect medium. A Moses or a Samuel might presumably be an approximately perfect medium, but even in these instances we find that human frailty, both in the medium and in the governed parties, rendered the divine will nugatory, as expressed in many instances, whatever may have been the undisclosed will of the Almighty. If these men were only approxi-

mately successful what shall be said of those who have had neither the ability nor the preparation for such a calling as they had? The ancient custom of giving divine honors to kings worked boundless evils in society, for the imbecilities, the cruelties, the injustices of those supposed vice-gerents of God could not but lower the peoples' notions of the Deity. The contemptible actions of God's agent would inevitably make the Divine Being contemned by the people. At the same time, the terror inspired by the belief that the king stood for God himself in the government of the kingdom would naturally engender that servility of manner which is such a prominent feature of the Oriental court life. Now these are precisely the features which differentiate the Chinese form of government from ours. It has engendered deceit, insincerity, servility in the outward manner, while at heart there is secret contempt. This pseudo-theocracy is a cloak for untold and untellable oppression and injustice. It is the cause of venality, nepotism and all political uncleanness, for the basis of a theocracy is necessarily absolutism, and a corrupted absolutism bears such fruit as we find in Turkey, Persia, China and like absolute governments. Those kingdoms whose sovereigns make the loudest claims to divine vice-gerency are the most corrupt. The Mikado of Japan was for two thousand years considered semi-divine, and it was only when he laid aside this guise and admitted his people as copartners of his responsibilities and his honors that Japan became politically regenerate.

The higher a thing is the more momentous is its fall. An American writer has illustrated this by a telling though humble metaphor. The higher the form of animal life the more offensive it becomes to the nostrils when it decays. Beginning with the mollusk and proceeding through all the grades of animal life till we

reach that of the human being we readily perceive the truth of this statement. And it is on some such theory as this that we can explain why a theocracy, the highest ideal form of government, may become the very worst when it loses the vitalizing force and becomes a corpse. Such is the government of China. It has always been a pseudo-theocracy and as such could never be other than offensive to the lover of good government. The West long ago rejected this idea and eliminated it from its idea of human government, not because a genuine theocracy is not the only perfect form of government nor because rulers do not need divine guidance, but because Christianity has taught the fallibility of human judgment and has thereby proved that a democratic form of government is the next best to a pure theocracy. Such democracy we find in all limited monarchies to-day, modified in various ways to suit the conditions and limitations of society. The evils of a parliamentary government are incidental and adventitious; those of a pseudo-theocracy like that of China are intrinsic and fundamental.

II. China has retained the original patriarchal idea, but the West has rejected it. Here we touch upon the social, not the political, organism. In the morning of the race the term of human life ran into the centuries, and we can readily imagine how a family in which ten or a dozen generations were represented would look with the utmost reverence upon the hoary patriarch at its head and receive his words as well-nigh oracular. China retained this notion. It was old when Confucius crystallized it into a written dogma. It has never ceased to be the basis of their social system. But this idea, like that of her delegated theocracy, has run to seed. Its most baneful effect has been to adumbrate the individual by the clan. It has made China a nation not of individuals but of cliques. It is difficult

for a westerner, even after years of residence among the Chinese, to realize the full significance of a Chinaman's intense loyalty to his clan. He never thinks of adopting an independent line of action. He must discuss every matter with the members of his family or clan and his every act is that of the clan rather than of himself as an individual. In short, as in America the unit of value is the dollar and all less than that is mere fractional currency, so in China the social unit is the clan, and all the members that compose the clan are mere fractions devoid of all integral force. A man cannot name his son without consulting the clan. He cannot give his daughter in marriage, nor sell his estate, nor change his place of residence, nor make his will, nor choose a profession without conferring with his relatives. If he is fortunate enough to amass wealth he shares it in great part with the clan. If he gets into trouble he is sure of all the help the clan can give. If he commits a capital crime a dozen of his relatives may be decapitated with him, or sold into slavery or driven into banishment. There is no such thing as a purely personal course of conduct in such a country and in consequence there is no such thing as personal responsibility. If he does wrong it is taken for granted that his relatives are his accomplices. It would be difficult to exaggerate the obstacles which such a system throws in the way of national progress. Being not a self-dependent and independent member of society but only a single factor in a highly articulated family system his every act must have a disturbing effect upon the system. A barrow wheel may turn slow or fast, backward or forward, without disturbing any one or anything, but not so with a cog-wheel in a complicated machine. Any erratic movement disorganizes the whole mechanism. Thus it is that the life of a Chinaman is circumscribed. He can have no genuine ambi-

tion. He can never climb the ladder of fame or fortune without dragging his clan with him. There is no such thing as starting as an office-boy and ending as the president of a railroad, or of beginning life as a news-boy and rounding off his career as the governor of a province. There is no such a thing as a son attaining a fortune in trade and living in a city mansion while his aged father lives on the old farm and rejoices in still being independent of his son's help. Such a thing would be subversive of all notions of Chinese propriety. It would be impossible. There is no such thing as a mother sending her sons out into the world to fight for themselves. The boy chooses neither his occupation nor his home nor his bride nor his companions. They are all prepared for him and he never dreams of acting independently in anything.

It is to this patriarchal idea that we must charge the inertia of China. It is harder to move a clan than an individual, and it is doubly hard for the younger members of a clan to effect any change for they are confessedly its weakest element. By the time they have reached years of experience they have received the impress of the clan and no longer desire a change. This is why, with all their civilization, they still make use of implements and utensils that would be considered primeval in America. Their arts and sciences are based upon models as crude as those that did duty in the days of ancient Babylon.

In the West all this is changed. Here again it is Christianity that has effected the change. It inculcates the principle of individual responsibility. It sets each man upon his own merits and judges him thereby. It makes each man a king by making him autocratic in the field of personal opinion. It makes the individual the social unit distinct from his parents, his wife and his children, and leaves him to play with the facts and

the forces about him without having to square his opinions to any set standard. This ideal has not yet been fully realized but in so far as it has the world has become enlightened.

III. China has retained the ancient ideographic idea. The West has rejected it. The first attempts of the race to transfer ideas by means of visible symbols resulted in the hieroglyph, or more scientifically speaking, the ideograph. The discovery of a phonetic system took place only after man had attained a considerable degree of intellectual growth, and when an ideographic system failed to convey the fine shades of meaning which such growth necessarily involved. But the Chinese have never shaken themselves loose from the crude system which the race learned in its infancy. We find, nevertheless, that China has evolved a ponderous literature and that the art of letters is considered the art *par excellence*. An examination of this literature shows that it is lacking in the very elements that one would suppose it to lack in view of its cumbersome system. In the first place they have no true poetry in our sense of that term. They have imaginative ideas expressed in a certain metrical or rather geometrical form, but it is all a matter of literary finesse rather than an outpouring of genuine poetic feeling. Chinese poetry must be read from the page to be most highly appreciated, while with us it is the human voice that carries the poetic truth most closely home to the human heart. In truth we may say that the element of heart is quite lacking in Chinese literature as a whole. In like manner we find that there is no such thing as oratory in China, and thus one of the most important avenues of intellectual intercourse is cut off from that people. For the same reason also music means infinitely less to the Chinese than to us. The professional musician in China is classed with the acrobat, the butcher and the

courtesan. But on the other hand the Chinese are master hands at anything that appeals to the eye. Their countless flaunting banners, their passion for colors and the high significance given to these in all walks of life, the showy pageant, the spectacular pyrotechnics, the parade of finery on all occasions—all these things show that if you would appeal to the Chinese it must be through the eye. To be able to take a brush and write a single Chinese character faultlessly would make a man's reputation more speedily in that country than to speak like Demosthenes or sing like Jenny Lind. Chinese literature deals with history and ethics almost exclusively. What they call poetry would appear to us but a disconnected string of aphorisms, many of them to the point, but without a gleam of that genius which lights the page of Dante or Shakespeare.

Eye-service dominates all Chinese life. What they see they will believe. Words are light, they are made to play with. Nothing is true but that which is seen to be true. This lies at the bottom of the materialism and utilitarianism of the Chinese. To him diplomacy consists in skilful lying and he commits himself only by doing something. His deed has no necessary connection with his word. In business life the Chinese are exceptionally honest but this is only a part of their hard common sense and their utilitarian spirit. It pays them to be honest for they know that it is next to impossible to free themselves from their environments. They cannot leave for parts unknown and begin life anew. They have learned better than we that defalcation and indirection are not only bad morals but bad business as well. But this applies only to business life pure and simple. When it comes to the matter of official peculation the merest novice in China would put to shame the cunning of the worst ring that ever tried to exploit the exchequer of a western government.

This ideographic system has proved a heavy drag upon the progress of thought in China. Intellect has pushed the cumbersome system to the wall. It has continued to demand the formation of new characters to express itself until the most erudite can hardly hope to master more than a tenth part of them in a lifetime. His education is almost exclusively glossarial and no opportunity has been given him to bring his intellect to bear upon the production of new and better ideas. This has naturally resulted in intellectual coma. It is only on the business side, the economical side, that he is really alive.

China's retention of the ancient notions of theocracy, patriarchy and ideography is what has thrown her out of the current of the world's progress. To have entered into a discussion of the religious side of the Chinese character would have revealed a similiar divergence from western ideals. But enough has been said to show the pitiable need under which China lies of being loosed from the intellectual, social and political fetters with which she has been bound—lo, these three thousand years.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN NORTH CAROLINA

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Within the last few months of 1900 there were strikes and lockouts involving not less than thirty cotton factories in North Carolina. As these outbreaks between labor and capital are new in this section it may be of general interest to learn something of their origin and nature. One of the chief arguments used to tempt capitalists into manufacturing in the South was that there were no labor organizations to make trouble. Mill presidents and promoters always gave out that the most pleasant and cordial relations existed between the employer and employee. Only last spring at the meeting of the Southern Cotton Spinners' Association the president felicitated the members upon the happy and contented condition of the wage-earners.

Sometime in April of last year the American Federation of Labor commissioned Mr. C. P. Davis of High Point, North Carolina, to organize local unions throughout the southern states. He began work first in his own state, going from factory to factory and quietly effecting organizations. The operatives lent themselves readily to the movement, and before it was known among the mill-owners many unions had been formed.

About the first of May the first skirmish took place between organized labor and capital at the Proximity Mill, near Greensboro, where a thousand or more hands were employed. When the president of the mill, Mr. Cone, learned of the movement, about one hundred

and fifty operatives, including twenty-five women and children, had enrolled. The mill was immediately closed and a notice posted that all operatives were discharged. Mr. Cone declared that he had come South to get away from labor organizations and would tear down his mill before he would run a day with union labor. The company's store was at the same time closed and no one could obtain provisions without going to the city, two miles away. The post-office, which was in the store, was necessarily closed also and people complained of trouble in getting their mail. Many families were caught without money, supplies or credit. A widow, Mrs. Cox, with six small children, was in destitute circumstances and the union made up five dollars to aid her. The company, fearing damage to their property, hired twelve extra watchmen and had the sheriff on the grounds every day. All families in which any one belonged to the union were ordered to vacate their houses. The conduct of the company excited resentment and the membership ran up to two hundred and fifty. The members of the union held meetings in the woods and decided to stand by their organization, no matter what happened. After a lockout of a week the mill resumed with non-union operatives, each one being required to sign an agreement not to join any organization of laborers. Some of these who had joined the union renounced it and returned to work, while others, impelled by a sense of loyalty to their organization, left the community to seek employment elsewhere. The young men secured positions in the Erwin Mill at Durham, but the same day they were discharged upon information that they came from the seat of the trouble at Greensboro. John Melvin and family obtained positions at the Cedar Falls mill, but were likewise summarily dismissed upon advice that they hailed from

Greensboro. Many other laborers who went in search of work met with same fate.

The next clash between labor and capital took place in Alamance county, where there are twenty or more cotton mills. Organizer Davis had effected labor unions at nearly every one of these plants. The clash was precipitated on September 27th over the discharge of Miss Anna Whitesell in a mill at Haw River. This girl, in attending to her looms, had to make trips into an adjoining room to get filling. On the day in question, after she had made several trips, the superintendent met her at the door and accused her of having already made sixteen trips, and at the same time threatened to discharge her. She flew into a passion, denying his charge and scorning his threat. Instantly she was discharged. Miss Johnie Pope, who worked in another part of the mill, was offered the vacancy but upon learning that Miss Whitesell, a member of the union, had been discharged she declined to accept it. The superintendent then waxed wroth and commanded her to do the work assigned or walk out. Being an orphan and having to choose between giving up her job and incurring the frowns of her union friends, she did not know what to do and burst into tears. This excited the indignation of the union workers and they were on the point of quitting the mill. However, Miss Pope went on with her work the remainder of the day. When night came the union held a meeting and decided that Miss Whitesell had been unjustly and rudely treated, and that if Miss Pope should be forced to take Miss Whitesell's place they would all abandon their work. Next morning, Miss Pope being ordered to take the vacant place, the union operatives threw up their positions. In a moment the whistle of the mill blew and the machinery stopped. Within an hour the three other mills in the town shut down also and eight hun-

dred operatives filed out into the streets. The mill proprietors had determined to bring the question of organized labor to an issue. After several days of suspense the union held a meeting and appointed a committee to confer with the managers of the mills with a view to adjustment. The managers refused to treat with the laborers except as individuals. Becoming alarmed about some rumors of a plot to blow up the mills, extra guards with Winchester rifles were stationed in and about the property. A notice was posted that on Oct. 15th the mills would resume work with non-union labor. The other mills in the county also advertised that on the same day the services of all union operatives would be dispensed with. According to announcement the Haw River mills started up, but with only a few hands; at the same time members of the union and their sympathizers in the other mills of the county, together numbering about four thousand, remained out. The following day a great crowd of union members assembled at the town of Graham, and after parading the streets entered the court-house and listened to speeches by organizer Davis and others.

Since the commencement of the lockout many union members have sought positions at other mills where operatives are known to be in demand, but when questioned where they came from they are uniformly refused employment. Nearly every mill in the state has pronounced against union labor.

Upon inquiry among the laborers as to the nature of their grievances and the object of their organization, the writer learned that the operatives wished to protect themselves against the introduction of low-priced laborers to undermine those already at work, and to obtain better wages for adults, so that the small children might be sent to school instead of being obliged to work in the mills. More than five thousand children under

fourteen years of age are employed in the industries of this state. It is claimed that at many mills the stores conducted by the companies sell at higher prices than the ordinary merchants in other places. At Haw River, for instance, ham was known to sell at 15 cents per pound at the company store, and 12½ cents at the stores of private merchants, and an employee told the writer that he had ordered bacon in 100 pound lots from Goldsboro, a distance of 90 miles, and after paying the freight it cost him 1½ cents per pound less than he could have bought it at the store of the company. The same employee stated that coal had been hauled by wagon from Graham, two miles distant, and sold at 50 cents per ton less than the company was then charging. Flour which in Durham sells for \$4 per barrel is sold for \$6 at a factory store a few miles away.

Mr. Edward Johnson, president of the union at Haw River, says that the chief grievance against the mill owners is their opposition to organized labor: "I think," says he, "that we have as much right to organize as capitalists and to belong to anything that is right and honorable."

The mill owners affirm that they would never have objected to the union had not unreasonable demands been made, and had not the efficient working of the mills been interfered with. The strike, they claim, was precipitated by a flagrant violation of the rules by Miss Whitesell, and that the union being made up largely of women and children and the worst element among the men it would be ridiculous to turn over the management of the mills to such people.

There can be but one outcome of this lockout. The laborers must renounce the union or seek other means of earning a livelihood. The doors of all mills are closed to them while hundreds of recruits are ready to accept the places left vacant. The operatives chose a

very inopportune time to press the issue of organized labor. The price of yarns is low and raw cotton high, and many mills are running at a loss. A further mistake was that, after having organized, the operatives began too soon to make demands.

The day-laborers in the South are peculiar in that all have the southern characteristic of sensitiveness and quickness of temper. They will not take an insult and when spoken to roughly they retaliate with interest, and, in case of women, often with interest compounded. Much friction in mills and much of the moving from one mill to another arise from this fact. Labor organizations in the South will be hampered for some years to come by their liability to hasty and untimely action. They lack the experience and head-work necessary to formulate wise policies.

[Professor Dowd's article is an interesting illustration of what nearly always takes place in the early stages of the introduction of modern industry in old agricultural communities. The public point of view is exclusively that of the capitalist employer, and long hours with low wages is the rule. What is now taking place in the South is exactly what occurred in New England twenty-five years ago; the difference to-day is simply that the New England manufacturers have learned economic wisdom enough to recognize and treat with labor unions, while the southern mill-owners are pursuing the path of economic folly, every step in which, sooner or later, they will have to retrace. No doubt, as Professor Dowd says, the southern unions are frequently rash and ill-managed, but this is largely due to the intolerant opposition they are forced to meet. In their extension and improvement lies the chief hope of decent wages and working conditions in the new manufacturing sections of the South.]

SPECULATION—AN INCIDENT IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

JOSEPH WEARE

It has been said that each era of prosperity as evidenced by many and many an experience is the advance agent of a wave of depression which follows in its wake. Equally true is the inverse proposition, and the more hopeful among us prefer to regard the subject in that light. Certain writers have set the cycle of rise and fall at twenty years, as though there were magic in that fateful number, but the fact remains that in a country subject to conditions of development such as bind us here, in a country which has reached a stage in its growth so great as we have attained, this term of years, indefinite at best, tends constantly to increase and the waving line of height and depression seems ever to become more straight.

So in speaking of speculation and panics in this time of good cheer it is with no idea of dismal croaking that we enter on the subject, but simply to study very crudely the interesting phenomena of which the year 1900 will furnish its due share.

Speculation exists not to be ignored; few of us have escaped its fascination. We are born into an atmosphere saturated with it and strengthened in the instinct by the hopefulness characteristic of the American people.

Now we have prosperity. The people engaged in manufacturing industries are employed making and saving money. Through a combination of circumstances agriculturalists are also doing well. Those who are the media of exchange and those in the pro-

fessions, being directly dependent upon the first two classes mentioned, are thriving as a natural outcome. All have or will soon have capital to invest in the production of more wealth. Where will this capital find an outlet? Let us enumerate briefly the items in our answer.

(1) In manufacturing industries, supplying the domestic and foreign market.

(2) In agricultural lands, manufacturing and town sites.

(3) In mining industries.

(4) In means of transportation, one of the media of exchange.

(5) In commercial houses, another of the media of exchange.

(6) In banking institutions, another of the media of exchange.

(7) In city real estate.

(8) In building operations of all kinds in answer to a present or supposed future demand.

Now surplus capital is turned into the above forms of investment usually and principally through the following three channels:

(1) Money is borrowed from banks by individuals or corporations upon security more or less sound. Note that while there are legal safeguards to a certain extent banks get money from their depositors upon trust alone.

(2) Promoters secure the money from individuals or sets of individuals, it may be corporations, giving in return stock or bonds in the new enterprise.

(3) Individuals invest their own money, see to its expenditure, and have a tangible view of their transformed wealth in the property which they may create.

The danger from speculation comes in this wise, taking our outlets for speculation in their order:

(1) *Manufacturing Industries.* The danger of an oversupply in either or both the foreign and domestic markets, or the lack of a demand in part or altogether as better things supersede the old.

Labor troubles long continued, which may mean ultimate ruin.

(2) *Agricultural Lands.* Lack of inherent qualities in the soil, adversities due to weather or plague.

Lack of labor to develop.

Lack of capital to develop, consequent on an inadequate comprehension in the first instance of the amount of necessary outlay before a project becomes self-supporting.

Lack of transportation.

Manufacturing and city sites are rendered valueless by failure of the expected influx of capital and population.

(3) *Means of Transportation.* This class and the agricultural, manufacturing and mining are all interdependent. The transportation lines may be put out in advance of the ability of the undeveloped mining, manufacturing and agricultural industries to feed them, and are for the time being run at a loss.

(4) *Mining Industries,* usually projected in futures, we may regard as an important part of our subject though not so weighty as manufacturing and agriculture because not affecting so widespread a population. The danger of a "slump" here usually takes more than one form.

(a) Enough money may be raised to open up a property, but, confidence waning, not enough more is forthcoming to prosecute operations upon a business basis.

(b) Transportation may be lacking.

(c) Labor may be hard to find even if the additional capital were ready.

(d) Danger of dishonest promoters and the inability of stockholders to get together for an efficient reorganization.

So the property becomes a present loss though not necessarily a total failure.

(5 and 6) *Commercial Houses and Banking Institutions* are, as media of exchange, the one of goods the other of capital, equally dependent with transportation upon something to handle. Their prosperity then hinges upon that of agriculture and manufactures and is largely determined by the extent of their sphere of action, *i. e.*, upon the markets that are within their reach. In saying that the media of exchange are dependent for their success upon something to exchange, it must be remembered that they may be the means of creating that something by finding a market for its outlet.

(7 and 8) *City Real Estate and Building Operations* are city questions. The city depending for its welfare upon that of its inhabitants these two items receive their value from the status of merchants, bankers, traders, manufacturers (including of course their employees) and professional men. The manufacturers in the city and the agriculturalists without, though assisted to their markets and so advanced by the merchants, bankers and traders, are in the first instance the measure of prosperity or depression. Of the professional men the lawyers may give stability and security to enterprise and the engineers promote its details, but the remaining professionals while indispensable to society do not directly influence the question at issue.

Having classified the outlets for capital, the channels through which it is turned into these outlets, and the dangers to which each class is subject, we can now consider how panics are started and hastened on their ruinous career. The causes are simple and can be explained in a word, yet they may be numerous, unde-

fined in origin and far-reaching in influence even as the interests of the members of any society are bound together and all affected by change to any one.

Of the three channels for the outlet of capital, banking loans, promoters' receipts, and individual expenditures under personal supervision, the banks, and promoters so far as they can resort to banks, have the largest public share in panics, or more properly speaking, industrial crises of which panics or heavy flurries in the money market are but a subdivision. Money panics often occur without disturbance to any interests other than those of stock-brokers and their clients, as when money is needed in the fall to pay for western grain, and the banks by calling in their loans cause a slump in stocks necessarily thrown on the market to meet their demand.

Individual effort, our third channel, upon failure suffers by itself and affects confidence only as it is an index to the general conditions.

Confidence or the lack of it is the keystone to the arch upon which rests speculative investment. Remove it and the structure falls to the ground. Not always the cause of crises, if the dangers which we have already enumerated have been openly invited, it is often the occasion when a cause works itself out to a legitimate effect. An apple may ripen in the orchard in due season and eventually fall of its own weight. But the wind blowing through the branches hastens a result which gravity would have ultimately attained. So lack of confidence shakes the tree of stability upon which hang the fortunes of many and many an enterprise, and they fall to earth.

Distrust born before a political contest may prove a check to business until that contest is decided, but nothing more. After an election come the serious results. Now lack of confidence may become truly a

cause of evil. Doubt and suspicion may be removed or confirmed. Confidence in the continuance or betterment of existing circumstances upon which calculations have all been based keeps enterprise sustained unless natural dangers, such as those mentioned, be incurred by the violation of economic law. Belief that a change promised by a political party which has come into power will overthrow existing conditions and in all probability make them worse has numerous effects:

(1) Checks the continuance of effort toward sustaining investment until it becomes profitable.

(2) Is an instigation to the withdrawal of capital from certain fields in which it has been placed.

(3) May depreciate the value of property in certain forms, which otherwise would fulfil all the conditions for successful development.

(4) And may even affect the interests of all the people of a country when such a change strikes at some nerve center of the national creation and intercourse such as money, a matter which touches the pockets of every man.

So much for the influence of politics on industrial welfare.

Confidence waning and suspicion beginning, industrial insolvency and general bankruptcy may be the outcome. How is this brought about?

The people have lent money to banks, the banks to promoters, to corporations or to speculative individuals,—this in addition to what we would ordinarily call safe investments. The banks of course want to make money, and, the bigger the risk they run, either the higher per cent. they get or the larger the volume of loans they are able to make at a given rate of interest. The limit is decided by a balance between their desire for large profits and their duty to protect the savings

of those who have trusted them, provided government law enforces no other restrictions.

The banks learn that the enterprises in which their capital was placed are not paying well enough to promise stability. If possible they call in their notes, or it may be these become due. It is impossible for the individual or corporation, or for a stockholder dealing in the public market, to pay with stocks purchased with money borrowed from banking institutions. It may be after this, it may be before, that the general public learns that these enterprises are not flourishing as they should. Though ignorant of just how or where their money was invested, they see so many symptoms of feebleness in many new as well as in some old and tried projects that they deem it best to draw their money from the banks at once.

Some one or two or a number of persons do so. They get their money back. As their influence is and in proportion as the knowledge that they have done this and the reasons therefor spread among the rest, in that proportion is the run on the bank large or small. But now the general symptoms of a crash are in the air and the feeling of uneasiness grows and extends everywhere. The banks, unable to meet demands, suspend payment. The people's money is gone, spent in works, some of which will never be heard of again; others requiring development which can only come with time to make them of any value.

Of course the banks are only agents. Those who have paid their money directly into the hands of promoters suffer as much, perhaps more, for they have not the machinery and organization of the banks at their disposal to secure such assets as may have value.

Business men have advanced goods to small or large merchants who are trying to do business in places usually new, or in old communities already overstocked.

There is no demand. They cannot pay their bills. The business man who has credited them owes in his turn to the manufacturer or agriculturalist, and goes to the wall. The agriculturist may have mortgaged his farm and cannot now meet the interest, much less pay the principal. The manufacturers, or it may be manufacturing corporations, operating on borrowed money, have demands to meet, cannot do it and go under. Their money may have come from banks. Thus through the banks and back to the people again goes the loss and trial.

Mining ventures follow the same career, and their failure comes to swell the public wail in proportion as the money invested comes from the many or the few. So with land speculations and transportation. So with our dependent but important real estate and building investments.

At the bottom of all a speculative value merges into the real only by the application of labor to the subject in hand, bearing in mind always that intelligent direction of force is as much a part of labor as work of the hands. Organization is the mechanism through which all force works, whether that force be supplied by work of the hands or by the marvelous and intricate machinery of the present day.

So now the surplus of the people as a whole is gone, some of it for all time, some of it waiting for labor to close the gap between what an investment now is and what it may become. What part shall the government take in spanning the chasm? The subject is too broad for a fair treatment here. Van Buren, perhaps rightly from his point of view, refused to build the bridge. Hamilton indicated by all his works that such would have been his attempt in any event. His financial genius more than that of any statesman of our country or of any other was equal to the task. Not

that government should seek to postpone the inevitable crash which comes of speculation long persisted in, but it should seek to check panic in some way, until by earnest effort and not by vain imaginings values become more real.

The only external check upon indiscriminate speculation will spring from a law requiring all corporations and stock companies to publish at intervals reports of their resources and liabilities, thus exposing their operations to the light of day. To give a just and equitable effect to such a law is one of the problems baffling our statesmen now.

Reorganization of the banking system in such a way that hard times will find the banks better able to meet the situation is a great study of itself, and endless schemes looking to greater elasticity in the system have been suggested.

All internal remedy must lie in the educated and progressive business sense of our people. It is very probable that for some time to come the only check will lie in the sobering shock of an old-time panic, the only channel through which restraint can reach those upon whom it is to be imposed. But let us look forward to better things.

Perhaps our future has been mortgaged in the prospect of present gain. Patiently we must begin to pay these debts, patiently toil to accumulate anew a reserve for coming years.

ELECTRICAL DEVELOPMENT

GEORGE STYLES

Outside of the telegraph the history of what we may call applied electricity is practically only twenty-five years old. If the most advanced scientist of the days of the centennial exhibition had died then and were to return to-day he would be bewildered by the various adaptations of this subtle power.

In no other period of the world's history have there been so many scientific applications of a single force as that of electricity, and the most advanced electrician is the least disposed to limit its range in the future. To-day one million people are employed in the United States in enterprises which depend upon electricity. At the beginning of the period of our text hardly a telephone was in public use anywhere in the world. In 1880 less than 35,000 miles of wire and only 3,350 employees were reported, while at this moment there is in this country alone something like \$85,000,000 invested in telephones, controlling 600,000 miles of wire and employing fully 15,000 persons.

Fifteen years ago there was not an electric road in full operation in the world. But now in the United States alone there are 15,000 miles of them, costing \$900,000,000. Ten years since there were only two or three electric power and light companies here. To-day we have 10,000 of them representing a capital of \$500,000,000. Especially during the last six or eight years has the application of this force been marvelous, not only in the different channels of its present use, but also in the enormous pressures to which it is subject for man's convenience. In no respect is it more start-

ling than in its transmission over long lines. Four years ago the highest pressure employed was 10,000 volts, that being the force used I believe on the line between Buffalo and Niagara. Within fifteen months this pressure was doubled, and to-day 40,000 volts are in use. The increase in this respect means a good deal from an economical standpoint, for the higher the pressure the more economical is the plant, because the conductivity of a copper thread increases as the square of the pressure.

Relatively therefore you require less metal with a high potential than with a low one. And while on this subject we may notice that though the transmission pressure is used in excess of what is required by the purpose of the current, and for which purpose it is transformed to the point needed, as for manufacturing, lighting and propelling, still it will not be forgotten that the limit of the possible voltage determines the distance to which that power can be profitably sent. This becomes of consequence in reference to the location of the site for the use of the power with regard to its source. In other words, it becomes of the highest moment to determine whether the source of supply can transmit the current one, two or any other number of miles.

For example: at present the farthest distance to which the Niagara current is sent is but little more than twenty miles. But there are plants now in operation which transmit the current four or five times that distance. This being so, a water privilege is no longer valuable simply for those electrical industries in its immediate vicinity; so that, the manufacturer who happens to live where fuel is comparatively scarce will suffer no disadvantage in using such a transmitted current as compared with the one whose factory is situated where fuel is plentiful. Only a few weeks ago the

Snoqualmie Falls Power Company of Seattle performed the feat of driving an electric motor one hundred and fifty-three miles distant from the generator.

Returning from this digression we notice a few of the things now accomplished by electricity, which until within a few years were considered impossible. Thus the use of the electric arc renders possible the creation of a temperature of 7,200 degrees Fahr. This is more than strong enough to reduce to its first elements every known substance. Gold, platinum, copper, may be volatilized in the electric furnace; copper, steel and nickel may be welded, and carborundum, the hardest known substance next to the diamond, is now made at Niagara.

By means of electricity one's handwriting may be sent by telegraph, and half-tone pictures reproduced many miles away from the subject. We can crowd a wire with seventy simultaneous messages, and by touching a button in Washington one can in a moment alter clocks all over the United States to the true time.

There is no form of machine but what may be run by this current, from the ponderous engine down to the churn in the dairy; and when we have turned in wonder from the motions of the mighty crank that moves and stops in obedience to the hand that presses the lever we can turn the fluid's sparkling current to account to enable us to see every bone, sinew and muscle in that hand.

Tiny incandescent lamps may be swallowed and the hidden anatomy of the stomach be revealed without impairing its processes. By it we can separate aluminium from the earth and thereby furnish it for a fraction of its former cost. The home may be heated, lighted, ventilated, and the elevator run by it. And we are here reminded that one of the latest appliances of electricity enables us with perfect safety to use an

elevator by means of a storage battery without requiring an attendant to the machine.

Electrolysis separates from a vat of common brine the chlorine and sodium, and thus two valuable chemical agents are produced. You can place drugs on a moistened electrode, and they can be carried intact to diseased parts of the system. We cut coal by electricity and the same force moves the pit-car to the mouth of the shaft and hoists the coal to the surface. It even ministers to the toilet of the man or woman of fashion, and can be used to stimulate the hair or destroy it, according to our wishes.

We put it in the form of a hundred gleaming stars on our horse's harness and store it under the carriage-seat to light our vehicle. It is no longer an open question as to whether our railroads will eventually be electric roads, the main difficulty being the value of our present locomotives, with reference to the cost of laying them aside for the electric motor, and the next generation will wonder how we endured the smoke and steam and grime incident to our "steam-cars."

The possibilities of wireless telegraphy are too many to keep it long in what are now its initial stages. Only a few weeks since, Prof. Fessenden and his assistant, Prof. Kintner, of the Western University of Pennsylvania, were reported as having produced a receiver for this means of communication, which is 2,000 times as sensitive as Marconi's coherer. The latter has shown that he can send messages 90 miles, and the improved receiver must of necessity lengthen this distance.

If so many of these things have already been accomplished the query naturally arises, what yet remains to be done? The question is necessarily indefinite but suggestive. We have spoken of the high voltage of the transmission-line and the enormous power thus possible to be conveyed. A difficulty in

this branch met the experimenters at the outset,—to invent insulators strong enough to withstand the strong pressure. This has been overcome only to present another arising from electrical leakage. At 30,000 volts this is hardly noticeable, but when this voltage is doubled the loss on bare wires becomes too serious as an economical factor to be passed by. It has been suggested that placing the wires under ground or enclosing them in tubes and placing oil in contact with the copper might reduce materially the leakage.

Another undeveloped field of the highest importance is the direct transformation of heat into electricity. When this is done the great heat stores, as already suggested, will become of much greater value in the production of a given electrical end than now, and cheaper electricity will result.

The sun and the tides are being canvassed to see if their exhaustless stores of energy can be utilized as electric creators. Nay, who will say that the magnetic currents on the earth's surface may not be harnessed for the same purpose? This may seem only a dream, but so was the conception that first saw in Niagara's rushing waters the potential strength of a mighty motor.

For years we have been taught that there is electricity within and all about us, generated wholly by natural forces. Now, that supply is supplemented by the handiwork of man, ministering to his wants and comforts until trade and art and science fairly bristle with them. Franklin's key and kite have evolved the mightiest force of nature as a servant to man, tireless, resting neither night nor day.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN HIS RECENT address before the Holland Society, Mr. Cleveland gave another demonstration of his capacity as a prophet of pessimism. He gave all the influence of his imposing ponderosity to the solemn prediction that we are going to the bad, but he had no hint of a helpful suggestion to offer. His every appearance before the public seems to justify his reputation as a messenger of misfortune. When he cannot lead to disaster he predicts it, but fortunately he has been retired and for all practical purposes belongs to the past.

IT IS WITH no little surprise that we note in the December number of *Money* an article by its editor urging the republican party to emphasize its adherence to the doctrine of international bimetalism. In the evolution of the subject the republican party has finally taken the position of a gold-standard party. The conversion from free silver to international bimetalism and ultimately to the gold standard has been a gradual historic process, and any return to the free-silver doctrine, international or national, would be a retrogressive step.

Of the two kinds of free silverites the international bimetalist is the worst, because he tends to keep the subject in agitation on the theory that it is the true future position, whereas the world is gradually tending away from bimetalism altogether. The 16-to-1 silver advocate has become less dangerous because the absurdity of his position is more obvious. The future improvement of our monetary system lies in the direction of better methods of banking and not in any new agitation about the standard.

IT IS ANNOUNCED that Mr. John D. Archbold has contributed \$400,000 to the endowment fund of Syracuse University, and simultaneously comes the information that Mr. Andrew Carnegie has contributed \$260,000 for the building of a public library in Syracuse, following only by a few months his contribution of \$300,000 to Cooper Union, New York city. This shows that our wealthy men are more and more seriously realizing the importance of furthering opportunities for education. No better use can be made of great wealth. The problems that are to be faced in this country during the next twenty-five years are going to be solved in a contest between the forces of constructive, progressive, intelligent evolution and the forces of socialism. The socialistic propaganda is already in the lead. It has an organized army and a political chief in the person of Mr. Bryan, and it feeds on social distrust of industrial progress. Education of public opinion, particularly among the masses, is the only weapon with which this movement of hazardous experiment and disruption can be successfully met.

INCONSISTENCY and insincerity sometimes look so much alike that it is difficult to distinguish between them. There are certain newspapers in New York city which are so near the border line and so frequently cross it as to justify the suspicion that they belong to the less ethical side. These papers constantly parade their virtues as the guardians of political ethics, yet they are generally among the first to find reasons for questioning the motives or denouncing the wisdom of any official who has the courage effectively to deal with scandalous political conduct. This was illustrated in the hostile attitude of certain New York papers toward Governor Roosevelt's removal of District Attorney Gardiner of New York city, despite their moral pre-

tences. Every clean-minded and patriotic citizen of New York, and for that matter of the country, feels that the moral atmosphere was cleared and political integrity strengthened by the governor's act. The American people have more faith in the virile integrity of such men as Roosevelt, even though they make some mistakes, than in the ethics of the cynical critics whose chief virtue is to find fault with whatever is, and take more comfort in picking a technical flaw in a virtuous act than in supporting the courage and energy that takes some risks in favor of public honesty and political decency.

IN THE DEATH of Michael G. Mulhall the world has lost one of the most remarkable statisticians of the nineteenth century. Unlike most statisticians, Mr. Mulhall had the faculty of marshalling statistics into massive generalizations and at the same time reducing them to intelligible specific quantities. Dr. Giffen is probably a more painstaking original investigator, but his results are neither as comprehensive nor as intelligible as were those of Mulhall. The great work of Mulhall was not in original investigation, but in the massing and marshalling into comprehensive form the work of the world's investigators. He took the statistics of different nations and made them intelligible to the average mind. It may be said that he was not as accurate in minutiae as some others, but he dealt with such large quantities and in such a methodical way that minor defects were offset and practically eliminated. In other words, he had a faculty for and developed a system of reducing the world's doings to the comprehension of the ordinary mind. In his hands the average person could understand almost at a glance statistics that run into the billions. He did this so well and so persistently that by sheer force of his superior ability he be-

came the most frequently quoted authority. He was a statistical genius, who, besides having the eminent faculty for statistics, had the power of organization. He reduced his work to a system which it is to be hoped is sufficiently well-established to remain a permanent source of world-wide statistical information.

IN HIS RECENT address at the University of Michigan ex-President Harrison gave the key for his silence during the recent national campaign. He advocated in vigorous terms the doctrine that the constitution must accompany the flag. If by governing under the constitution he means giving the people full rights of suffrage and self-government with representation in congress, then all our territorial government has been unconstitutional. If Mr. Harrison contends that when the flag goes to Porto Rico and the Philippines and Hawaii it must carry with it all the rights of American citizenship that are exercised in Indiana, he should oppose annexation of inferior peoples altogether. But he started the present annexation movement by annexing Hawaii, a group of people economically, politically and socially inferior to most of the inhabitants of Porto Rico and probably to many of the Filipinos. If Mr. Harrison is in favor of annexing barbarism, with the full privileges of United States citizens, he is advocating the most dangerous doctrine that has ever been promulgated in this country.

To take the position of ex-Speaker Reed and Senator Hoar that the annexation of barbarians is a bad and even dangerous departure from American policy is sound and defensible, but to advocate the annexation of unclad savages and then insist that the constitution must accompany the flag is a combination which makes an intolerable doctrine for the United States or any other civilized country. If we are to have the strict

construction doctrine that "the constitution goes with the flag," then we must scrupulously avoid letting the flag go where the people are industrially and politically unfit for the constitution. Mr. Harrison's address at Ann Arbor does not sustain his reputation for statesmanship and legal learning. If his annexation theory and practice is sound his constitutional doctrine is bad, and if his constitutional doctrine is right his theory of statesmanship is disastrous.

GOVERNOR ODELL of New York appears to be ambitious to make a record for economy. He has begun by urging the abolition of many of the state commissions, among which he has selected the board of arbitration, the board of factory inspectors and the bureau of labor statistics. The work hitherto done by these three boards he recommends should all be performed by one new department. This may save a few dollars but it will impair the scope and efficiency of a line of work that should be increased and strengthened instead of curtailed. Instead of reducing the work of factory inspection it should be increased. The demand for workshop inspection in the interest of wholesome labor conditions is increasing every year. Similarly, the work of the bureau of labor statistics should not be curtailed but rather extended. The data furnished by an efficient bureau of labor statistics is altogether more important than a governor's staff; it furnishes a reliable basis for sound discussion of public questions. There is ample room for criticism of the work of these bureaus, because they have been equipped largely by political patronage instead of competent, efficient appointments. The one mistake Governor Roosevelt made was in assuming that he could get efficient service by parcelling out these positions to trade unions. He soon found that trade unions were won-

derfully like political organizations. As soon as they saw an office they all wanted it, and it was a disgraceful struggle in which all united to abuse the one who got it. If these appointments were made solely on the ground of fitness, regardless of trade union or any other "pull," the boards of factory inspection, labor statistics, and arbitration, would be three important features of the state government and would be worth to the public many times more than their cost. Abolishing these bureaus or lumping them all under a single head with reduced force would be a step backwards, distinctly detrimental to the interests of labor throughout the state, and against which the workingmen ought vigorously to protest.

EUROPE IS evidently becoming disturbed by the striking progress of the United States. M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the French economist, has sounded the alarm and proposes a social union of Europe against the United States. He says:

"They are on the point of becoming by far the most important economic factor in the world. They may henceforth be regarded as the first industrial nation, and their superiority will become more strikingly evident year by year. Moreover, they will very soon have a considerable mercantile marine."

To prevent this he proposes a practically prohibitive or highly discriminating duty against American products throughout Europe. There is not much danger that such a scheme will immediately prevail, because of the suspicion and rivalry between many of the European countries, particularly France and England. This, following Mr. Chamberlain's proposition for an industrial confederacy between England and her colonies, having free trade within and imposing a duty on all imports from without, shows the trend of affairs. It shows that instead of the world growing towards free

trade it is altogether likely to adopt a more comprehensive system of protection, and that, after all, the great and most important thing any nation can do for the perpetuation of its own growth and prosperity is to develop its own market resources through domestic consumption. There is a lesson in this that American statesmen will do well to learn. Those doctrinaires who assume that either England or the United States, or both, are going to be permitted long to monopolize the markets of other countries for manufactured products are counting without the facts. The most ordinary self-interest in social advancement will invent some method to stop any such monopoly. As progress advances, it becomes more and more obvious that civilization and national power are incompatible with merely agricultural industries. Manufactures and commerce, with their socializing effect upon population, are indispensable to any appreciable national strength; consequently, every nation is going to become a manufacturing country as fast as it shares in any appreciable degree in the world's consumption of manufactured products.

THE "RUSKIN HALL" MOVEMENT

The inauguration of the "Ruskin Hall" movement in this country, by the starting of a school at Trenton, Missouri, raises the question of the possible place of such a propaganda among the educational forces of the nation. The school at Trenton is to be operated by the income received from students, who will provide for a considerable part of their tuition and living expenses by working on a farm connected with the institution. On its practical side there is nothing particularly novel about this plan,—there are numerous worthy educational institutions in this country conducted in much the same way. But the next step the Ruskin Hall people have in view is to establish branch schools in cities throughout the country and carry on a propaganda of economic doctrine by means of these schools, supplemented by home-study courses. The point of view and general character of instruction given will, of course, be largely determined by the influence of John Ruskin; which, in economics, means socialism pure and simple.

It is hardly worth while to comment on the prospects of an undertaking before it has been submitted to the test of practical experience, but it is not out of place to discuss its probable effect in case it succeeds. Without minimizing the elevating and stimulating character of much of Ruskin's teaching in certain important fields, it cannot be said that his economic notions were either sound in theory or helpful in their practical relation to society. Minor points aside, the two really characteristic and vital features of Ruskin's economic thought were antagonism to mechanical industry and the use of machinery, on the one hand, and thorough belief in a socialistic reorganization of society on the other.

Ruskin is regarded as the most prominent representative, probably, of the literary school of modern socialists. In this country several communistic experiments have flourished (and most of them withered) under the name of "Ruskin colonies." One of these, started in Tennessee and afterwards reestablished in Ware County, Georgia, was thus described by a writer in the *Savannah* (Ga.) *News*, last October:

"The Ruskinites have demonstrated by actual experience the lowest possible daily cost for food for their entire community. . . .

"Everything they consume is bought at wholesale, in large quantities, and is cooked in the community kitchen. In the community dining-room tables are set for three hundred people. Those who do not wish to eat with the crowd are given the privilege of purchasing company stores and cooking it at home. When vegetables are scarce these people are allowed seven cents per capita a day, that is, seven cents for each person, big, little, old, young, sick or well. When vegetables are plentiful the cash allowance is only five cents. As the community raises its own vegetables, the approximate cost is only about two cents per capita a day, making the actual cost of living at Ruskin from seven to nine cents a day for each man, woman and child.

"Let us go into the community dining-room and see how they live. We go at the invitation of Professor Denny, an eminent socialist speaker and scholar. In a large room 20 feet wide and 150 feet long we see nearly three hundred men, women and children seated at long tables. Breakfast is our first meal. It is well prepared, savory and daintily served. We make a wholesome meal on light bread furnished by the colony baker, butter, Georgia syrup, oatmeal, Irish potatoes, milk, cereal coffee and sugar. Sometimes we have fried mush with fruits and jellies.

"Our dinner generally varies according to the season. Meat only comes to the table twice a week. The bill of fare usually consists of rice or peas, beans or macaroni, some two or more of these; Georgia syrup, beets, tomatoes, eggplants, potatoes, soup, bread and cereal coffee—cereal coffee is manufactured by the colonists and is one of their main industries.

"For supper, cheese in some form, lemonade, cake, rice or beans, sugar, grits, mush, fried potatoes, cold tea and bread. The person visiting Ruskin and taking his meals in the community dining-room will have the above bill of fare placed before him, with slight variations. He will find that it is not only possible, but practicable, for people to live at a cost of from seven to nine cents a day per capita."

The same writer, in speaking of the economic views and purposes of these colonists, says:

"The Ruskinites are socialists. . . . They believe firmly in the doctrine that society should be reorganized by regulating property, industry and the sources of livelihood. They also believe in a community of property and the negation of individual rights in that property."

• The only significance of this illustration is that it shows the kind of efforts which naturally spring out of Ruskin's economic influence, and even adopt his name as best typifying the spirit of the undertaking. There need be no uncertainty, and ought to be no lack of clear understanding, as to just what sort of "educational" work this Ruskin Hall movement is designed to perform.

Any propaganda which has for its background a practically communistic reorganization of society on the basis of a return to agricultural conditions and hand-labor industry, leading its votaries to glorify such a pitiable ideal as being able to live on seven to nine cents a day,

cannot fill any useful place in modern educational effort or exert any wholesome influence on public opinion or upon the world's great industrial tendencies. The fatal defect of Ruskin's economic teaching, which deprives it of any really scientific standing and destroys its capacity for broad practical usefulness, is the fact that it arrays itself arbitrarily against the natural evolution of industrial society, instead of recognizing the broad advantages and opportunity-making character of this progress and pointing out ways and means of removing its hardships and defects while preserving and aiding the general trend.

When it does teach preservation of the general good and removal of the specific evils, economics becomes both the guide and purifier of industrial progress, but an economic philosophy cast on the general lines of Ruskin's reactionary doctrines can never be anything in its total effect but a stumbling block in the pathway of social progress.

Ruskin was by nature incapable of formulating a sound and well-balanced philosophy of social progress. The reasons for this disqualification were fundamental, and perhaps could not be better summarized than has already been done by Charles H. Moore in the *Atlantic Monthly* of last October. In a paragraph Mr. Moore states the essential features of Ruskin's economic incapacity:

"For a social reformer Ruskin was not well equipped, either by nature or by education. He did not see that men must be led in freedom. He did not respect freedom. He did not see that character can be formed only by voluntary conformity with the divine laws of life. Repression and compulsion, while necessary under existing conditions for the maintenance of outward order, have no potency to reform human nature. He would enforce principles of right living, and

the slowness of men to conform to such principles made him impatient. But a reformer needs vast patience. Impatience, anxiety, irritability and excitability are weaknesses which unfit a man to help his fellows; and, with all his genius and all his nobility of soul, Ruskin had these weaknesses in large measure."

There is crying need of broader, more helpful and a thousand-fold more extensive popular education in economics in this country, but it must be education of the sort that illuminates the pathway of natural evolution, instead of attracting the nation by false lights, into the byways and pitfalls of revolutionary and reactionary experiments.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Two Points
Where We
Do Not Lead

In summing up the results of nineteenth-century progress, it appears that education is one of the few departments in which the United States has not led the world; probably has not made as much progress as some other nations. Sixty years ago we were, with one exception, at the head of the world in the general extent of education. That is to say, we had a larger percentage of adults who could read and write than any other nation except Germany. In 1840, 80 per cent. of the adults in this country could read and write. In Germany there were 82 per cent. To-day Germany has 96 per cent. and we have 92. In 1840 Russia had only 2 per cent. who could read and write, to-day it has only 15 per cent. Italy, sixty years ago, had 16 per cent., and now has 47 per cent. Spain had 14 per cent. in 1840, and has now only 28 per cent. England in 1840 had 59 per cent., and now has 90 per cent. In other words, England was 25 per cent. behind us sixty years ago, and is only about 2 per cent. behind to-day. It has made more rapid progress in education than we. This is an important matter. To be sure, illiteracy in this country is not very great, and it may be true and undoubtedly is that the percentage is largely affected by the South; but this only shows where the need for special effort is. If this country is to keep to the front as a real power in civilization it must keep up with its education, evenly throughout the land. Wealth, industrial prosperity, nothing will avail ultimately if it is not so directed as to show a large part of its results in the general information and culture of the people.

The same is largely true of our relative progress

in municipal government. Europe has made more rapid progress than we. Our industrial advancement has been so all-absorbing that municipal government has been relatively neglected.

We do not say this in a pessimistic mood. Our country is not disgracefully in the rear in education and municipal government, but we cannot afford to be at all in the rear. These two things are more important with us than with almost any other nation, because we are facing new conditions and more complex problems than any other country, and we have to face them unreservedly by democratic methods. They are submitted, not to a little cultured group but unqualifiedly to the people, and the people must have the intelligence to deal with them or our institutions will fail.

**Education in Our
New Possessions**

The annual statement of William T. Harris, United States commissioner of education, contains some interesting reports of the educational conditions in our outlying territories and possessions.

In Alaska 25 public schools have been maintained during the past year, but on account of the increasing population the present school facilities have become wholly inadequate. The immigration of white men has aroused an interest in education among the adult native Alaskans, and in several sections there have been requests for night schools. It has been impossible to comply with these requests except in one instance, but the results there have been most satisfactory.

A brief account is given of the condition of schools in the Philippines before the disturbances of 1896-'97, and their reestablishment under United States authority, but no information is offered as to progress since made and the present status of the schools,—possibly because our efforts have been more actively directed

thus far to pursuing the recalcitrant Filipino with the bayonet than with the school book.

In Cuba there has been a more thorough reorganization of the school system than in any of the other sections reported. Boards of education have been established, a superintendent of schools appointed, who prescribes the courses of study, free text-books furnished and attendance made compulsory under fines of from \$5 to \$25. In March, 1900, there were reported 131 boards of education, 3,099 schools, 3,500 teachers and 130,000 enrolled pupils. In 1899 there were only 200 schools with an attendance of 4,000. The school fund is taken from the customs receipts and the estimate for 1900 was \$4,000,000.

The report of the conditions in Porto Rico agrees substantially with that made by M. G. Brumbaugh, commissioner of education for that island, to which we referred in our last issue. Intellectual apathy, born of poverty, seems to pervade the island, and until the United States took possession there was almost no attempt at popular education. Progress has been made in the past two years but the results do not compare with those in Cuba.

In Hawaii the missionaries have carried on more or less effective educational work for nearly a century. The people have been eager to learn, and schools and colleges have sprung up. As early as 1840 there was a compulsory school law with penalties for non-attendance, applying to both parents and children, as well as a law which provided that no illiterate man should "hold office over any other man." With the coming of Englishmen there was an increase in the number and quality of the schools, the most important change being the teaching of English instead of the Hawaiian language. At the present time in nearly all the schools in Hawaii English is the medium of instruction.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Our Philippine Policy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Many of the views expressed in your magazine are, I think, admirably sustained, but I cannot fully endorse what seems to be your position as to the course of the administration in dealing with the Philippines. I cannot possibly see how any other course could have been pursued. President McKinley was bound to sustain the authority of the United States therein. Had he failed so to do he would have been liable to impeachment. These islands have been governed just as our other territories have been. We have kept some of them out of the union many years, and it will be many years before the Philippines will be in such condition as to enable us to determine what will be best for them, for us, and for the world. That which will tend to promote their own best interests will surely be best for the world at large, and I think every sane man will conclude that our rule will best subserve that purpose. J. W. S., Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.

Sentiments That Are Appreciated

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your January number is the first copy of your magazine I ever saw, that I know of, and I

confess I am pleased with the tone of the articles and the lines along which you seem to be moving with reference to public affairs, recognizing the good that is and at the same time demanding and expecting progress in the future. It seems to me that the best results can be obtained not by expecting a complete change of the present order of things, and that your magazine will supply a real need and meet with many sympathizers among a large class of people who are not completely and fully satisfied with every condition of the body, social and politic, and yet are not so filled with pessimistic sentiments, which are seemingly cherished, as to see no hope in anything, unless such advice as they approve is followed *seriatim* on all questions. What pleased me most in your magazine was that I caught no suggestion of any of the above spirit, a too common spirit, both in the press and in private discussions. I am glad to become acquainted with a magazine which appears to possess the spirit of *poise* in its editorial department.

C. H. F., Greenfield, Mass.

QUESTION BOX

Future of the British Empire

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Schey's article in your January number certainly makes out a cheerful showing for Australia, but what does it all point to, if not the breaking up of the British empire into independent republics—Australia, Canada, South Africa, and so on, leaving England only her island kingdom? The bonds are becoming so weak that it begins to look like an impending breakdown of the greatest colonial system in the world.

J. S. P.

Yes, true progress means the breaking up of empires everywhere, German and French as well as British. As prosperity advances and labor grows the essence of empire is sure to decline, and colonies governed by distant authorities will disappear. Canada and Australia can only be held nominally by Great Britain because they are permitted practically to be republics. Progress is towards self-government, which is the antithesis of colonial government. If we attempt to establish a colonial system we shall be taking on what even progressive monarchy is throwing off. This republic may consistently cooperate with struggling people to help them establish representative government, but we cannot enter upon a colonial policy without radically departing from the principle of our institutions, and the trend of political progress everywhere.

Socialism's Defeats and Prospects

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR:—Because a socialist mayor has been defeated in Haverhill, you seem to think socialism is

done for. How many years ago was it that the idea of a socialist being a formidable candidate for anything was an absurdity? How many centuries did it take people to win the right even to have a free religious opinion, and then only in one corner of Europe? How many centuries has it taken the masses in only a few countries to get merely the right to vote? How many defeats and long discouragements have they had? A righteous cause may be ten centuries in winning, but do not imagine it is going to be wiped out by an occasional setback in one place while victories are being won in dozens of others.

E. N. G.

Our correspondent is mistaken. We do not "think socialism is done for" at all. It is entirely true that it has taken centuries of continuous struggle to win the civil, religious and economic freedom that is now enjoyed. It is equally true that a local setback did not defeat but only delayed the movement. A righteous cause may indeed be centuries in winning, and if progress continues it is sure to win. It is because socialism is not a "righteous cause," in the sense of being a sound social movement, that we look for its failure wherever the experiment is tried. Thus far, in all the forms of attempted socialistic government, the result has been disappointing failure. It is because socialism is opposed to the highest type of individual freedom that we expect its failure wherever tried. It is based, moreover, upon a false economic assumption: namely, that profit or "surplus value" is robbery, which is not true, and cannot be sustained either by logic or fact.

It is true that every religious cause has to struggle for recognition, but it does not follow that every religion that struggles for recognition is true. On the contrary, mistaken panaceas outnumber many times the sound measures which make for permanent progress. Social-

ism is an unsound theory, and, although it will probably have to be exploded by some degree of actual experimenting with it, the degree of its temporary success will be the measure of social misfortune and setback to real progress during its continuance.

European and American Municipal Government

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Is it not generally recognized that municipal government is much farther advanced in Europe than in the United States, especially in respect to municipal ownership of public enterprises? If so, certainly this is the first step we should take to make our city institutions what they should be. E. M. S.

European experiments in municipal ownership of public enterprises are not the respect in which their cities are superior to ours. The respect in which municipal government in Europe is more advanced than here is in wholesomeness of political methods and broad-minded attention to public improvements. In fact, public spirit in Europe has been altogether more largely absorbed in municipal government than in national government. It is in municipal government that the democratic spirit there has made its greatest progress, whereas in this country municipal government has been the neglected feature of our public life. The natural consequence is that in Europe the cities are better governed, freer from political corruption, and consequently freer from jobbery in conducting municipal enterprises. There are no Tammanys; such institutions have not had the opportunity to take advantage of the people's inexperience in civic affairs and absorption in other pursuits that they have here. The characterful and responsible citizens take an active part in municipal affairs and are frequently elected to the most responsible offices. In this

country municipal government is conducted largely by cliques, and offices are given to incompetents, with the result that local departments, like the New York city police, become blackmailing and vice-protecting institutions instead of guardians of the public interests.

It is in these respects that Europe is farther advanced than the United States in municipal government, and this is partly due to the methods of selecting candidates for office. In Europe they have no delegate conventions, where a few unscrupulous persons, through the power of patronage, can buy and sell offices and control the selection of candidates. In England, for instance, the nominations are made by petitions, so that any comparatively small group of citizens can put a candidate in nomination and thus easily reach the people without the intervention of "bosses," as in this country. Indeed, that is perhaps the worst feature of our whole municipal political machinery.

New York City Politics, Now and in 1897

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—You are certainly on the right side of the case when you say that the people of New York city are as willing to give the city government to Tammany as to the republican organization. The two machines do trade with each other all the time; there is no doubt of it, and they have always done it. This was just as true in 1897 as it is now, and I cannot understand why you supported the republican candidate for mayor that year if you recognized the true situation as you seem to do now. There was a chance then to keep out both machines and start the greater city under an honest and able mayor, free from local partisan control. Mr. Low did some exasperating things, no doubt, but you do not

imagine, do you, but what the republican machine preferred to see Van Wyck elected, if necessary, to defeat Mr. Low ?

J. D.

It may be true that "dealing" between the republican organization in New York city and Tammany "was just as true in 1897 as it is now." If it was we did not know it and did not believe it. It has been demonstrated over and over again since the Tweed era (1872) that Tammany is a corrupt and corrupting institution; that it is not in any legitimate sense a political party but a private organization which goes into politics for what it can make. Several official investigations have conclusively shown that in the pursuit of its object it uses the political administration for blackmail in its vilest forms, by conspiring with the vicious classes, furnishing protection to crime for a division of the booty. It has been shown that this method of blackmail and corruption permeates every department of the government over which Tammany has control; that the police force is an organized system of corruption, blackmail and persecution conducted on a systematic revenue-receiving basis. To be sure, it was commonly said that Platt was as bad as Croker, that the "republican machine" was a duplicate of Tammany, but it is so easy and common to indulge in this sort of thing against whoever succeeds to political leadership that it is wholly unsafe to accept such charges without specific proof.

Our theory of ethical judgment is to assume a person innocent until he is proved guilty, not believe him guilty until he proves his innocence. We did not have the evidence that the republican organization traded with Tammany and used other coercing, intimidating and corrupting methods in 1897, but we have that evidence now. Within a year we have seen the despotic methods by which republican political officeholders use their

power of patronage to coerce delegates and suppress the rights of citizens and reverse nominations for public office for the same low motives and by the same corrupt means that Tammany employs. In 1897 we believed Mr. Quigg to be a clean-handed, energetic, public-spirited political leader. We now know him to be a manipulator and user of the lowest kinds of Tammany methods. In 1897 we did not believe the story that the republican organization leaders traded with Tammany. We now know they did on the personal admission of the men who did it. Whether Mr. Platt is personally a party to this sort of thing we know not, but we do know that he is the supporter and defender of those whom he knows have done it. The first-hand evidence of all this we now have in our possession. We may have erred in trusting the integrity of the republican organization in 1897, but we know we are warranted in wholly distrusting it in 1901. Our correspondent may have been more alert than we in discovering the true character of the leaders of the republican organization in New York city. Perhaps he was closer to the inside. We were slow to suspect and reluctant to believe that Tammany methods prevailed in the republican party, but we now know they do and act accordingly.

How Will Depressions Be Eliminated ?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—It does not seem to me reasonable to assume, as you do in many of your editorials, that if properly educated the people would submit quietly to industrial depressions and hard times. Education cannot hold out against starvation. I can see no hope of permanent industrial peace until the time comes when we can have permanent prosperity under stable conditions and settled policies.

R. G. M.

Our correspondent is quite right, but it is exactly in this direction that economic and political education among the masses would help. Of course, the more intelligent the people are and the more they know of industrial causes and effects, the more impatient they will be with the recurrence of industrial depressions; on the other hand, the more clearly they will recognize the actual causes of depressions and the character of the remedies needed. Industrial depressions are the laborers' calamity. They can be remedied by no specific act of the legislature, but will disappear with the increasing permanence and stability of industry. This can come only through the better organization and more scientific application of capital. The era of industrial depressions is the era of haphazard conducting of productive industry, without scientific knowledge of the real market demands and conditions. The era of industrial permanence and stability must be the era of large coordinated industrial enterprise,—enterprise on such a large scale that it cannot afford to move by fits and starts, but in self-preservation must so adapt itself to the conditions as to make continuous use of its capital and tools possible. This is what the great corporations are tending to accomplish, and an intelligent understanding of their own economic interests on the part of the masses would lead to endorsement of rather than antagonism to the general trend of industrial evolution in this country.

BOOK REVIEWS

SPENCER AND SPENCERISM. By Hector Macpherson. Cloth, 241 pp. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

This is really a review of the Spencerian philosophy. The author is not merely an admirer of Spencer and his philosophy, but he worships at the Spencerian shrine. Of Spencer's works he says (page 233):

"There are no gaps to fill in; the various volumes hang on 'First Principles' like golden beads upon a golden string. Herbert Spencer may rest from his labors with the proud consciousness that with his own right hand he has carved his path from obscurity to a philosophic throne. He now stands among the sceptred immortals."

It is true that Mr. Spencer has constructed a synthetic philosophy which, with the works of Darwin, Huxley, Lyell and Tyndall, and a few other great writers of the period, has practically changed the point of view of human thinking. The astonishment about the doctrine of evolution is that it should have become so generally accepted when so few have read its literature. The influence of the Spencerian school has been spread far more by brief popularizations of it than by the works of either Spencer or Darwin.

It is just such books as the one before us that give popularity to the principle of evolution. As an evidence of how completely Spencer impresses himself upon his followers, nearly all his pronounced disciples carry off his errors with the same devotion and alacrity that they do the great truths he has taught. One peculiarity of Spencer's teaching is his unqualified acceptance of the doctrine of laissez faire. It is no reflection to say that in the realm of economics Spencer was not a thinker but a borrower. It was one of the fields in

which he generalized upon other people's investigations. He accepted the orthodox English school as represented by Adam Smith, Ricardo and Mill. He received his economic impressions in the era of the free-trade agitation, consequently he was an unqualified free trader. He subjected every economic and industrial policy to the test of its consistency with the free-trade theory. If it diverges from that it is heresy. In this respect he was very much like Buckle.

Mr. Macpherson is no exception to this rule. He expounds "Spencer and Spencerism" in a most attractive and eloquent style. When he comes to the subject of the economic evolution of society he bears the indelible imprint of the master's defects. He sees and most eloquently describes the relation of economic development to political progress. He sees that material prosperity is the source of social and political diversification and advance, yet he utterly fails to recognize that equally conspicuous fact in history that whatever promotes the diversification of industry contributes to the evolution and advance of society, and that it is an essential part of the science of statesmanship so to direct the political and social forces as to promote this development. Affording protection to property through the establishment of a police force is a part of such policy. Ultra laissez faire would have forbidden this and rendered progress even much slower than it has been, but Mr. Spencer was so thoroughly opposed to government action that he even condemned popular free education, and his criticism of anything like trade unionism was unbounded. This was the defect in the socialistic part of Spencer's doctrine, and Mr. Macpherson has taken it all. He extols free trade and condemns protection as the antithetical forces of good and evil in economics (page 140):

"The intelligent adoption of Adam Smith's doctrine as the cornerstone of foreign policy is only a matter of time; and when Free Trade is universal, humanity will advance from the stage of nationalism to that of internationalism. When that day arrives, wars will cease. . . . Under Free Trade the progress of one nation makes for the progress of all. Fleets and armies are no longer needed to secure a monopoly of trade, to preserve the balance of power, because in obedience to an economic law those countries which are industrially equipped will share in the trade of other countries, even in the teeth of protective tariffs. . . . Free Trade thus appears in its true light as, from the economic side, the application of Christian ethics to the international sphere. . . . Well might Richard Cobden describe Free Trade as the international law of God Almighty."

How much this sounds like the orations of Villiers, Cobden and Bright in the early forties. They predicted that the benefits of free trade needed only to be seen to be eagerly imitated by all other nations, yet more than fifty years have elapsed and no other nation has followed England's policy, not one. On the contrary, the nation which has advanced along all the lines of national evolution at a rate having no parallel is a nation which has persistently adhered to the hated and pernicious doctrine of protection. We have deviated from it occasionally, only to be repaid by direful industrial disaster. There was some excuse for Cobden and Bright, who wrote and spoke over forty years ago, and perhaps some for Spencer, who is not an original investigator in this field, but experience should count for something with the followers and expounders of so profound a doctrine as the synthetic philosophy. It is the more surprising that the disciples of Spencer, like Mr. Macpherson, should so tenaciously adhere to the free-trade dogma, since protection is in no way inconsistent with the principle of evolution. On the contrary, it is but the substitution of intelligent, scientific selection for blind natural selection. It is the substitution of science for cosmic force and of statesmanship for ignorant blundering empiricism.

Protection, in the sense of giving societary encouragement to industrial development, is as consistent with and as much a logical part of evolution as is the development of insurance, the application of steam and electricity to production, or the guarding of the freedom and property of citizens. Scientific protection is but intelligently applying the great principle of evolution to new phenomena as they arise. Instead of the world becoming converted to the free-trade doctrine, even England is beginning to waver. Her responsible ministers are boldly discussing in the house of commons a protective confederacy by which England and her colonies shall have free trade between themselves and protection against the rest of the world.

It is true Herbert Spencer stands for the great universal philosophy which inductively interprets universal progress, but the application of his great principle to the specific spheres of phenomena are subject to the actual experience in each case; to do which is the duty of his modern disciples. To adhere to the doctrine of *laissez faire* as Mr. Spencer did in unqualified form, when the best thought in economic science has abandoned it in obedience to the scientific induction of half a century's experience, is to get into a rut and fail to learn the lessons of contemporaneous induction and verification, which is in effect to be un-Spencerian.

ECONOMIC CRISES. By Edward D. Jones, Ph. D. Cloth, 223 pp., \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is an excellent discussion of economic crises or industrial depressions. The subject is handled with care, painstaking precision and in a true economic spirit. It is altogether more analytic than synthetic.

It is a careful analysis of the economic causes and conditions which effect industrial disturbances. The treatment is comprehensive yet close; it shows wide reading on the subject. The author calls to his aid a liberal collection of writers of standing in all great commercial countries. He indulges in some very wholesome criticisms on the doctrine of parsimony, saying (page 77):

“When parsimony is rare it is highly paid in the return given to capital; when it becomes common its rewards are reduced. The methods by which the individual advances his fortunes above those around him, must not be confused with the methods by which the economic life of society is properly regulated. Maxims of private wealth-getting cannot be transformed directly into principles of political economy. If capital is accumulated more rapidly than the field for its use is developed, the talents of the organizer are those demanded and a high remuneration will be given for organizing ability rather than for saving. The liberal salaries now paid to men of superior organizing power, in contrast with the low rates of interest prevailing upon the markets of the world, show the present relation between the supply and demand for these qualities so necessary to social progress.

Capital, however, can be used to assist in the solution of its own problem. Wealth may be used in the encouragement of science and invention and in opening those lines of possible economic activity which are not generally appreciated. It may be used to promote the study of new markets, to disseminate information as to market conditions, and to perfect all those means of industrial control which would further a systematic distribution of capital over the realm of industrial enterprise. But the most abundant return, measured in terms of public welfare, will probably result from the

application of capital to the development of the higher and more social economic needs of man."

This is eminently sound reasoning and is characteristic of the author's treatment of the subject throughout. He recognizes, as few writers do, that while the equilibrium between production and consumption is the great fact in industrial stability the social forces which most need stimulating are on the side of consumption, and, moreover, that the aggregate consumption of society is governed altogether more by the social life and standard of living of the laboring class than by all other classes put together. For example (page 85):

"The assertion, which is made on good authority, is therefore significant, that eighty per cent. of the machine-made goods of the world are consumed by the laboring class. The cutting off of the laborer's share in distribution manifestly in an equal degree diminishes his power to consume or to take the products of industry off the hands of the producer."

Professor Jones has here made an important contribution to the discussion of one of the most important phases of modern economic stability, to accomplish which is the next great step in industrial progress.

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC SUPREMACY. By Brooks Adams. Cloth, 222 pp., \$1.25. The Macmillan Co., New York. 1900.

Our swift triumph over decrepit Spain, with the consequent expansion of our authority in the Philippines, is having its effect upon the public imagination. As was to be expected, distance is lending enchantment to the view and the tendency to let the imagination run wild and deal out immeasurable prophecy, reeling off the colossal things done and to be done by the United States, with the assurance that we are to work the

miracles of the immediate future, is being indulged, in dimensions which make one fairly dizzy.

A most fascinating contribution to this tendency of colossal generalization and cyclonic world absorption has been made in this little book, "America's Economic Supremacy." It is written in the same key as Mr. Adams' "Law of Civilization and Decay." His style is exceptionally lucid and shows the masterhand in historical generalization. It tends to carry the reader along breathlessly, with the assurance of reaching the goal inevitably marked by evolution.

The author handles centuries and races as if they were but months and families; he sees the course of civilization turned by a single event. He sees the center of economic supremacy transferred from the Thames to the Hudson by the fall of two shillings a hundred weight in the price of sugar in London. Close and colossal organization is coming, which is to equip us for a great world work. It might "be effected by the growth and amalgamation of great trusts until they absorbed the government, or it might be brought about by the central corporation, called the government, absorbing the trusts." In either event the author thinks the result will be approximately the same. The eastern and western continents will be competing for the most perfect system of state socialism.

Mr. Adams is a kind of fairyland philosopher. He touches facts so lightly and quickly and masses them so sweepingly as to make the stolid plodding world seem in a cyclonic whirl. His style is enchanting and eloquent, his reasoning plausible, and his conclusions interestingly prophetic, but his structure is so loose and airy that it will only hold good with the aid of a most fertile imagination. He neither furnishes enough of cohesive facts or inductive reasoning to warrant the acceptance of any specific conclusion he points to. He

is an excellent specimen of imaginative writers, who command the ages to obey their theories. In his "Law of Civilization and Decay" he saw all the world moving towards destruction, unless the money power were dethroned and the free coinage of silver established. In the present work he sees, with similar clearness, England decaying and the United States destined to take its place. While the book is highly interesting reading and contains a touch-and-go reference to many important economic facts, its chief influence, so far as it exerts any, is likely to be as a contribution to a false, inflated sentiment regarding the "world destiny" of the United States, to the injury of the internal development and safeguarding of prosperity and welfare at home.

EDUCATION, STATE SOCIALISM AND THE TRUST. By Freeman Otis Willey. National Economic League, New York. Cloth, 125 pp.

The National Economic League is devoted to the circulation of literature for the purpose of correcting the prevalent idea that the rich are growing richer by making the poor poorer. No better work can be done in this country to-day than the circulation of sound literature on this subject, but the object cannot be accomplished by sending out mere special pleading for capital. Although erroneous doctrines are prevalent among wage-earners, it must not be imagined that workingmen are dunces. In order to be of real service in promoting intelligent opinion on modern economic problems, it is no less important that the laborer's interest and point of view be correctly presented than that the interests of capital should be defended and its utility explained.

The lack of this balance and fairness of presentation is the chief defect of Mr. Willey's little book. For

example, in order to show that the laborers get a very large proportion of the product, Mr. Willey argues, with a liberal use of census figures (pp. 73-78), that if an eight-hour day were adopted it would cause a loss to capital of \$10,125,000,000 a year. He arrives at this by taking the aggregate production and reducing it by one-fifth. This method of reasoning on national production is as false as is any method used by free-silverites or socialists. It assumes that with a reduction of the hours of labor everything else would remain the same, hence the lessened production would be proportionate to the reduction in the working hours, which is contrary to all experience. Mr. Willey ought to know, and if he does not intelligent workingmen do, that nothing of this kind has ever occurred. During the nineteenth century, and especially the last three-quarters of it, every civilized country has had more or less experience in reducing the hours of labor; in England the reduction has been nearly 40 per cent. and in this country from 20 to 30 per cent., and nowhere has the result predicted by Mr. Willey taken place. Instead of either the aggregate output or the output per laborer being reduced proportionately with the reduction of hours, the reverse has everywhere occurred. Evidence of this is as abundant and obvious as that railroads have supplanted stage coaches.

The historic fact everywhere obvious is that commensurately with the shortening of the working day has come enlarged production, increased aggregate profits, and concurrent increase of wages. The workingmen know this: they know that the capitalists have not grown poorer nor their own wages smaller with the reduction of the hours of labor, and any literature which teaches that disaster would follow a shorter working day will receive little appreciation from intelligent laborers. No better work can be done to-day

than furnishing sound economic literature correcting the false sentiment against capital, but literature can not accomplish much in this direction which does not discuss intelligently, with equal comprehension and fairness, the laborer's side of the social problem.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

The Attaché at Peking. By A. B. Freeman-Witford, author of "Tales of Old Japan," "The Bamboo Garden," etc. Crown 8vo, cloth extra, gilt top, 386 pp., \$2. The Macmillan Company, New York. A collection of letters written while Mr. Mitford was attached to the British legation at Peking.

Memories of the Tennysons. By the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, honorary canon of Carlisle, author of "Life and Nature at the English Lakes." Cloth, gilt tops, 12mo, 252 pp., \$2.25. With portraits and other illustrations. The Macmillan Company, New York.

History of the Prudential Insurance Company of America (Industrial Insurance). 1875-1900. By Frederick L. Hoffman, F.S.S., statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America. Cloth, 338 pp. Prudential Press.

A Geography of the British Isles. By Lionel W. Lyde, M.A., F.R.S.G.S. Cloth, 12mo, 128 pp., 60 cents, net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Future of the American Negro. By Booker T. Washington. Cloth, 12mo, gilt top, 254 pp., \$1.50. Small, Maynard and Company, Boston, Mass.

The Postal Deficit. An Examination of Some of the Legislative and Administrative Aspects of a Great State Industry. By H. T. Newcomb, author of "Railway Economics." Cloth, 158 pp., \$1. Ballantyne and Son, Washington, D. C.

Tuskegee, Its Story and Its Work. By Max Bennett Thrasher. With an introduction by Booker T. Washington. Cloth, 12mo, decorative, 248 pp., \$1. Small, Maynard and Company, Boston, Mass. Containing 50 illustrations.

Spanish Highways and Byways. By Katharine Lee Bates, professor of English literature, Wellesley College. Crown, 8vo, \$2.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Political Theories of the Middle Age. By Dr. Otto Gierke, professor of law in the University of Berlin. Translated, with an introduction, by Frederic William Maitland, LL.D., D.C.L., Downing professor of the laws of England in the University of Cambridge. Cloth, 8vo, 197 pp., \$2.50 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Who's Who, 1901. An Annual Biographical Dictionary. Cloth, 12mo, 1234 pp., \$1.75. Fifty-third year of issue. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Men Who Made the Nation. An Outline of United States History from 1760 to 1865. By Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph.D. Crown, 8vo, cloth extra, gilt top, 415 pp., \$2. The Macmillan Company, New York. Illustrated with many reproductions of contemporary prints, sketches, facsimiles, etc.

The Letters of Thomas Gray. Including the Correspondence of Gray and Mason. Edited by Duncan C. Tovey, editor of "Gray and His Friends," etc. Cloth, 12mo, 393 pp., \$1, net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Educational Aims and Methods. By Sir Joshua P. Fitch, late chief inspector of training colleges in England, author of "Lectures on Teaching," etc. Cloth, \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

FROM RECENT MAGAZINES

"I must, however, express the hope that the employers of the country will take into more serious consideration the employees, who at the recent election voted to give prosperity to all, in the face of the strenuous effort of the opposition, who would have had them believe that the prosperity of the employer meant the coercion of the employee, and that the only recourse of the latter was to destroy the former. The workingmen of our country have again resented the talk of demagogues about coercion, and have voted for a continuance of an administration that has given employers great prosperity, in which they themselves have participated. They have voted for the flag wherever it floats, and I hope and believe that they will have their full share of the benefits."—HON. PERRY S. HEATH, in "Lessons of the Campaign," *The Forum* (December).

"One who has retired from the service, but not from the love of his country, must be pardoned if he finds himself unable to rejoice in the acquisition of lands and forests and mines and commerce at the cost of the abandonment of the old American idea that a government of absolute powers is an intolerable thing, and, under the constitution of the United States, an impossible thing. The view of the constitution I have suggested will not limit the power of territorial expansion; but it will lead us to limit the use of that power to regions that may safely become a part of the United States, and to peoples whose American citizenship may be allowed. It has been said that the flash of Dewey's guns in Manila Bay revealed to the American people a new mission. I like rather to think of them as reveal-

ing the same old mission that we read in the flash of Washington's guns at Yorktown. God forbid that the day should ever come when, in the American mind, the thought of man as a 'consumer' shall submerge the old American thought of man as a creature of God, endowed with 'unalienable rights.'"—BENJAMIN HARRISON, in "Status of Annexed Territory and its Inhabitants," *The North American Review* (January).

"Sometimes historians tell us that it was only Dutchmen and not Englishmen who bought the red men's land instead of stealing it. Such statements have been made in New York, but if we pass on to Philadelphia we hear that it was only Quakers who were thus scrupulous, and when we arrive in Baltimore we learn that it was only Roman Catholics. In point of fact, it was the invariable custom of European settlers on this Atlantic coast to purchase the lands on which they settled, and the transaction was usually recorded in a deed to which the Sagamores affixed their marks. Nor was the affair really such a mockery as it may at first thought seem to us. The red man got what he sorely coveted, steel hatchets and grindstones, glass beads and rum, perhaps muskets and ammunition, while he was apt to reserve sundry rights of catching game and fish. A struggle was inevitable when the white man's agriculture encroached upon and exhausted the Indian's hunting ground; but other circumstances usually brought it on long before that point was reached. The age of iron superseded the stone age in America by the same law of progress that from time immemorial has been bearing humanity onward from brutal savagery to higher and more perfect life. In the course of it our forefathers certainly ousted and dispossessed the red men, but they did not do it in a spirit of robbery."—JOHN FISKE, in "The Story of a New England Town," *The Atlantic Monthly* (Dec.).



BOOKER T WASHINGTON

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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Accession of Edward VII.

Although England's new king was formally proclaimed and took the constitutional oath on January 24th, the immediate interest of Christendom remained with the dead queen until well after the last and wonderfully impressive ceremonials of February 2nd, when the funeral cortege passed through London on its way to Albert Chapel. Now that Victoria has passed into history, however, King Edward becomes an object of interest altogether greater than usually attaches to the person of a new monarch. This is partly due to the extraordinary length of Victoria's reign, making the very idea of a new English sovereign a novelty not easily reduced to the commonplace; but in a larger sense the accession of Edward attracts the attention of the world because of the possible effect it may have upon English and, therefore, upon world policies.

Thus far, with the possible exception of the gaudy show of February 15th when the king and queen rode to the houses of parliament in the gilded chariot of George III., the new king's public appearances have created only a favorable impression. Coming to the throne in his sixtieth year, he will at least be free from hot-headed indiscretions of the sort that marred the opening years of his nephew William's reign, in Germany; but whether Edward will prove a man of large

enough calibre for the headship of the greatest empire on the earth can be settled only by experience. There is little in the world's knowledge of him thus far to suggest anything more than a correct-mannered, tactful, pleasure-loving English gentleman, and it may be that, in a country where the real governing power has passed so completely out of the monarch's hands into those of the ministers and parliament, this type of "ruler" is quite as useful and much less bothersome than a strong-minded individual set upon policies of his own. The principal function of an English sovereign to-day is to typify or impersonate the idea of authority but not become too familiar with the thing itself.

The king's speech in opening parliament might as well have come from the late queen herself, so far as any hint of change of policy is concerned, either with reference to domestic or foreign affairs. The only significant incident that has occurred thus far, indicating a possible modification of British policy, was the peculiar wording of the proclamation of Edward's accession with reference to the Transvaal. A special phrase "Supreme Lord Of and Over the Transvaal" was adopted, whether by the suggestion of the king or not does not appear, but the effect of it is distinctly to recognize a different sort of sovereignty over the new South African colonies than England claims over all her other possessions. There is in this the suggestion at least of a conciliatory policy in store for the Boers when the Transvaal's institutions are permanently brought under British civil administration.

**The South
African Situation**

There is no evidence, however, that the Boers are any better pleased at the prospect of British sovereignty, under whatever name or form, than they ever were. Lord Kitchener's task, if not the most serious, is at any rate the

most exasperating and tedious phase of the South African war. It is true, a peace committee of native Boers was formed in Pretoria about the middle of December, and these men have been trying to persuade their countrymen to give up the hopeless struggle without further bloodshed; but the very efforts of this committee have served to bring out on the other side fresh evidence of the intense bitterness of the Boers still in the field. Three peace messengers sent by the committee to General De Wet's camp about the middle of January were seized, brutally flogged and then shot,—an act of barbarity which destroys whatever claim De Wet may have had to the admiration of the world for his prolonged resistance against overwhelming odds.

Early in January the war took on once more a really serious aspect, by reason of the formidable invasion of Cape Colony by the Boer forces and the imminent probability of a rising of Boer sympathizers. To prevent this, martial law was proclaimed throughout the larger part of the colony, and the efforts of Piet De Wet, a member of the Pretoria peace committee and brother of General De Wet, counted heavily against any serious outbreak of the Cape Dutch. General Botha is still active in the Transvaal, but the real heart of the struggle is along the border-line between Cape Colony and the old Orange Free State, where Kitchener has taken personal charge of the campaign to capture De Wet. Experience has proved that it is practically impossible to trap the wily Boer by infantry movements; the British war department, therefore, is sending Kitchener 30,000 additional mounted troops, which presumably will be applied directly to this final task. The remaining phases of the struggle have no interest to the world so far as the future of South Africa is concerned, for that is practically settled already. It is now

simply a duel between two military geniuses, with the end not far away.

**More Trouble
in China**

Early in February the Chinese peace commissioners and the foreign ministers in Peking began holding regular meetings to arrange for carrying out the terms of the peace agreement. As might have been expected, trouble arose over the very first important item,—punishment of the ringleaders in the anti-foreign outrages last summer. The powers demanded the execution of twelve persons, including Prince Tuan, father of the heir apparent to the Chinese throne. It appears that two of the twelve are already dead, but with reference to the others China returned a compromise proposition by which only one of the offenders, Yu Lu, the former viceroy of Pe-Chi-Li province, would have been executed outright. Another, Prince Chuang, commander-in-chief of the Boxers, was to be compelled to commit suicide; Prince Tuan and Duke Lan exiled to Chinese Turkestan; Ying Nien, the accomplice of Chuang, ordered executed but his sentence commuted to life imprisonment; and three others merely degraded. This proposition substituted Yu Lu, whose execution had not been demanded, for General Tung Fu Siang, commander-in-chief of the army, for whose life the Chinese commissioners made a special plea on account of probable uprisings in certain provinces if the general were sacrificed. The plea for Prince Tuan was put on the ground that the government could not execute a prince of the blood royal and continue to maintain proper respect for its authority.

The effect of this reply was to incite a military movement on the part of Germany, which, for a time, promised the most serious complications. Count von Waldersee announced a plan of campaign of far-reach-

ing proportions, including a general invasion of Chinese provinces to the west of Peking by the whole of the allied force under his command. All the powers were apparently ready to join in this movement except Russia and the United States, and it is hardly supposable that Russia's refusal was due to any special consideration for China or excessive love of peace. General Chaffee, however, promptly declined to join the expedition, and Minister Conger was instructed from Washington to inform the other ministers that our government was opposed to any further hostile movements at this time. It now appears that in all probability the German proposition was never meant seriously; in fact, the German foreign office is understood to have informed our ambassador, Mr. White, that "the expeditions were designed chiefly to convince the Chinese government that the powers would not be trifled with." The latest report is that this threat has had the desired effect and that China will grant the demands of the powers in full without further parley.

**A Word of
Protest**

Whether this should prove true or not, it is quite clear that our government is right in refusing to join in any wholesale campaign of devastation in the interior of China. The fact is, evidence is accumulating of the discreditable performances of the foreign troops to such an extent that the moral strength of Christendom's case against China is already seriously damaged. Many of the stories of pillage, outrage and murder of defenceless men and women are doubtless exaggerated, but if only a part of what is reported is true it is enough to make Christendom ashamed of the later stages of its descent upon China. At any rate, the situation is no longer such that the powers have any moral justifica-

tion for arbitrarily refusing to consider the traditions, limitations and embarrassments of the Chinese in the matter of fulfilling the penalties demanded.

The great object now to be gained is peaceful settlement, on a basis that will maintain the integrity of the empire and establish good feeling and friendly relations between the Chinese people and the outside world. This is incomparably more important than any minor issue of execution *versus* banishment or life imprisonment for three or four fanatical princes and generals. The terms that have been imposed upon China are anything but lenient and the powers can well afford to waive an occasional point for the sake of future amity, without any danger of inflicting too mild a "vengeance." The hands of Christendom are not clean enough to enable it gracefully to assume the role of faultless Justice dealing with a guilty culprit,—all the right on one side, all the wrong on the other. China must indeed pay the penalty of last year's outrages, but if the empire's independence is to be maintained its government must have at least the privilege of submitting proposals in its own behalf without having summary threats of annihilation thrown into the negotiations at every step. Such a course, offensive in itself, is the most shortsighted and impolitic. It is certain so to intensify Chinese bitterness against Christendom as to destroy trade opportunities and delay any real regeneration of the empire for many decades, however successful the allies may be in forcing the "open door" and exacting industrial privileges. It is one thing to drive the Chinese horse to the stream of Christendom's trade but quite another thing to make the animal drink.

"Pacification" in
the Philippines

President McKinley on January 25th sent to the senate a special message transmitting a report from Secretary Root which included the full report of the Taft commission. In this message the president strongly urged "legislation under which the government of the islands may have authority to assist in their peaceful industrial development in the directions indicated by the secretary of war,"—which is understood to have been an appeal for the passage of the Spooner amendment to the army appropriation bill. This amendment provides that, until otherwise arranged by congress, "all military and civil powers necessary to govern the Philippine islands" shall be "vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the president of the United States shall direct." If this amendment passes it is practically certain that Judge Taft, chairman of the Philippine commission, will be made governor of the islands, with very large powers.

Probably it is wiser to centralize authority in the Philippines in the way this amendment proposes, so long as our present policy is maintained, but continued experience does nothing to confirm the wisdom of the policy itself. Deportation of Filipino leaders, banishment of refractory newspaper editors, and increased severity of military measures do not seem to "pacify" the natives. In fact, it is probable that even the surrenders of groups of insurgents recently reported in different quarters are little more than ruses designed to throw our forces off guard. An illustration of the thoroughly untrustworthy nature of Filipino submission and "cooperation" with the American administration is offered in a private letter from a United States government official in the Philippines to the editor of the *New York Evening Post*, published in that journal on January 16th. Said this correspondent:

"The American authorities set up a local municipal government; presidente, clerk, etc., are elected, and everything seems to be working smoothly. A little later it is discovered that the presidente and clerk also represent the insurgent government, and that where they collect 100 pesos tax for the Americanos, they collect 400 pesos tax for the cause of the 'Filipino nation.'"

The same official, earlier in the letter, observed:

"It is openly and repeatedly asserted by army officers in Manila to-day that the American army is on the defensive in this archipelago, and that it has been on the defensive for more than six months. It was on the defensive when Gen. Otis went home to tell the people of the United States that 'the Philippine situation was well in hand.' Perhaps the official code of ethics forbade his successor's discrediting that statement, at least until after the election; but the time is at hand when something radical will have to be done. . . .

"They report that the garrisons in two-thirds of the territory visited are in a state of actual siege, and that they dare not go more than a few hundred yards outside their posts for fear of capture or of encountering an overwhelming force of insurgents; that all of the garrisons are too small for the territory watched over, and that not a day passes that several American soldiers are not picked off by the watchful and treacherous natives. . . .

"The country is pacified and 'the situation is well in hand,' but there are towns within a few miles of Manila where the authorities will not permit an American to go for fear that he will be massacred. American soldiers daily fall prey to the bold treachery of the Malay, but these have 'needlessly exposed themselves.'"

As to the feeling of the Filipinos towards American authority, the *Post's* correspondent said:

“Official reports to the contrary, officers and men who know the situation and the natives are all agreed that the Filipino hates us as he never hated the Spaniard; that every Filipino is an insurrecto; and that the present guerilla warfare will continue for years unless some strong policy be inaugurated.”

This is quite in line with General MacArthur's statement in a letter to Secretary Root, which the latter sent to the senate on February 4th. “Expectations based on result of election,” said the general, “have not been realized. Progress of pacification apparent to me but still very slow. Condition very inflexible and likely to become chronic.”

The Independence Proposal in Congress In our last issue we expressed the belief that the American people are becoming more and more tired of the entire Philippine complication, and eager for a safe and honorable termination. A sidelight of confirmation was thrown on this opinion by an incident in the house of representatives February 9th. Mr. Brown of Ohio, a republican in regular party standing, made a stirring speech in favor of Philippine independence. His appeal was so eminently practical and logical that a large number of his party associates gave vent to their feelings in hearty applause during the address and congratulations at its close. This is only a straw, but we should not be surprised to see other evidences develop that the congressional support of the administration's Philippine policy has become largely perfunctory. At any rate, it would seem to be dangerous to let anybody boldly express the rational and truly American doctrine on this matter under circumstances which permit any response of real feeling from the party ranks. Here is the resolution Mr. Brown advocated:

“It is the purpose of the United States in retain-

ing possession of the Philippine Islands to aid their inhabitants when they submit to the authority of the United States in establishing a capable and stable free government, and when this purpose shall be fully accomplished the United States, under such reservations and conditions as may be wise and just, will relinquish authority in those islands."

In support of this he said in part:

"Congress has never yet announced to the Filipinos what the national purpose is with respect to them. If this body will tell them now—tell them explicitly and solemnly—that it is the fixed determination of this nation to establish its authority in their country, and that when this end shall be reached they shall have a chance to become in due time free citizens of a free government—if congress will say this to them, and say it now, we may confidently expect that their rude weapons of warfare will fall from their hands and that they will sue for peace—peace which they will know means more for them than anything ever held out to them or to their fathers in any generation.

"This declaration would now be opportune. It would be at this time a wise act, which the government is strong enough to perform without having its motives questioned by friend or foe. Even the most deluded Filipino could not misunderstand it. It would go to him, as he would know, and as all the world would know, in the day of our triumph and his defeat. This declaration by congress now would go to the Filipinos as a great nation's amnesty to them."

It may be that Representative Brown was oversanguine as to the immediate effect of such a proclamation. The Filipinos have acquired a deep-seated distrust, based on 400 years' experience, of promises or pledges made by an alien authority, and the added experience of the last two years has transferred to us the

animosity so long cherished towards Spain. This, however, only emphasizes our duty in the case. It is entirely reasonable to anticipate that at least the leaders of the insurrection could be convinced of the genuineness of such a declaration. That it would materially improve the situation cannot be doubted, besides giving a moral strength to our presence in the islands that we have not been able to command in any really high and disinterested sense thus far, either at home or abroad. It would pave the way towards settlement of the Philippine problem along the lines followed in Cuba, and even if the task were longer and harder the results would be incomparably better than anything whatever to be gained from our present unnatural policy of subjugation by extermination. This would be true whether we reckoned the advantage of the rational and humane policy in lives and money saved, or in the certain raising of our moral standing throughout the world, or in the preserving of our democratic principle of government from the insidious undermining effects of a "colonial" policy.

**Cuba's New
Constitution**

Although not yet fully adopted and proclaimed, the principal details of the proposed constitution of Cuba are practically completed. The full text of the constitution as submitted to the convention in Havana late in January has been published. Like the constitutions of all our neighboring South American republics, it shows at almost every point the powerful influence of our own national constitution. In all three departments of the government, legislative, executive and judicial, the proposed Cuban system will be patterned very closely after the United States model. The Cuban congress will include a senate and house of representatives, the former to consist of six senators from each of the

six "departments" of the republic, the term to be six years, and one-third of the senate to be elected every two years. The house of representatives will have one member for every 25,000 inhabitants, the term being four years, and one-half the house to be elected every two years. The president's term will be four years, and he is prohibited from receiving more than two elections. Each of the six departments in the island will have a local assembly and governor of its own, with powers and duties corresponding in general to those exercised by the various states in this country. Each governor, however, will be responsible to the national senate for any infraction of the constitution.

Fundamental guarantees of personal rights form the largest single section of the constitution. They include most of those great vital safeguards won by the English-speaking people through many centuries of painful struggle, such as these:

"No law can have a retroactive effect, except in penal matters, when the new law is favorable to the delinquent.

"No person shall be arrested, except by virtue of a warrant from a competent judge; the writ directing the issuance of the warrant of arrest shall be ratified or amended after the accused shall have been given a hearing, within seventy-two hours following his imprisonment.

"No person shall be tried or sentenced, except by a competent judge or tribunal, in consequence of laws existing prior to the commission of the crime, and in the manner that the latter prescribe.

"The expression of thought shall be free, be it either by word of mouth, by writing, by means of the public press or by any other method whatsoever, without being subject to any prior censorship, and under the responsibility determined or specified by the laws.

"No person shall be molested by reason of his religious opinion, nor for engaging in his special method of worship. The church and state shall be separate.

"The inhabitants of the republic shall have the right to meet and combine peacefully without arms for all licit purposes.

"The penalty of confiscation of properties shall not be inflicted, and no person shall be deprived of his property except by the competent authority for the justified reason of public benefit and after being paid the proper indemnity therefor. Should this latter requirement not have been complied with, the judges shall give due protection, and, should the case so demand, they will restore possession of the property to the person who may have been deprived thereof.

"No person shall be obliged to pay any tax or contribution of any kind whatsoever, the collection of which has not previously been legally decided upon."

**What Should be
Our Attitude?**

A great deal of wrangling is going on as to whether or not the United States congress should undertake to revise or in any way pass upon the Cuban constitution. There is nothing in the Cuban constitution, as it now stands, defining any special or unusual relation between the new republic and the United States government. For that matter, we do not expect or care to exercise any protectorate over Cuba, and there is no apparent reason why our relations with the island, with the possible exception of one or two very general provisions, should not be left to be arranged between the two governments when Cuba's constitution goes into full operation. There is little practical value in the suggestion that we should reserve the right to control Cuba's foreign relations. The Monroe doctrine covers that point

just as it does with all the other American republics, and we have never found it necessary to assume responsibility for the conduct of either the foreign or internal affairs of any of them.

The only reason why it might be important to have a special understanding with Cuba is that we made our withdrawal from the island conditional upon the establishment there of a sound and stable government. As Senator Platt of Connecticut, chairman of the committee on relations with Cuba, suggested in the senate on January 31st, congress might declare upon what terms our military occupation would cease, and couple with this such suggestions as we might regard necessary to the establishment of a stable government. The Cuban convention would then have the opportunity to embody these suggestions in the constitution or otherwise provide for their fulfilment, without formally submitting the document to the United States congress for approval. The point is technical rather than essential. The only real reason for preferring a method which implies the minimum authority over Cuban affairs is the practical certainty that every opposite step will be promptly taken advantage of by those who are already urging annexation of the island to the United States. The attitude of the administration in the Philippines does not afford any satisfactory assurance that if only the road could be made easy enough Cuba itself would not be gathered into our "colonial" system. Every point of procedure which emphasizes our pledge *not* to do this is important just now, and may profoundly affect the political future of the island.

**Congressional
Reapportionment**

The outcome of the recent struggle in congress over the matter of reapportionment of representatives on the basis of the new census shows the difficulty of

living up to the national constitution when a problem of inferior races is thrown into the situation. The literal fact is that democracy cannot be made to work for two distinct orders of civilization within the same group,—constitution or no constitution. It would seem as if the repeated demonstrations of this with reference to our colored population in the South would afford some warning of the wholesale nullification of constitutional mandates that will be forced upon us in our dealing with the even more degraded populations of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, as soon as we attempt to confer anything like equality of political rights upon them.

The new apportionment increases the total membership of the house from 357 to 386, which gives one representative to every 194,000 inhabitants (approximately), instead of one to every 174,000 as at present. Under this arrangement, Illinois, New York and Texas each gain three members; Minnesota, New Jersey and Pennsylvania two each; Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin, one each. No state loses a representative.

The very suggestion of reducing the representation of certain southern states because of their disfranchisement of negro voters raised a storm in congress, and the exigencies of practical politics prevailed against the plain mandate of the constitution. The 14th amendment provides in definite terms that, whenever the right to vote of any legally-qualified citizens is denied them by any state, the representation in congress of that state shall be proportionately reduced. At present four states have, by a one-sided educational test, denied this right to the negro; in consequence of which, as Representative Olmsted showed in his reso-

lution introduced on January 3rd, the vote cast at congressional elections declined between 1890 and 1898, in Mississippi from 62,652 to 27,045; in South Carolina from 73,522 to 28,831, and in Louisiana from 74,542 to 33,161. In several other states, as is well known, the negro is practically disfranchised by force or intimidation. The disenfranchisement act in North Carolina is too recent to show results in tables of comparison, but the obligation to reduce the representation of that state is exactly as binding as in the other cases. The grotesque absurdity is that, instead of obeying the constitution and reducing the representation of these states by fully one-half, the new apportionment actually gives Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina an additional vote each in congress. No doubt this avoided a sectional struggle of extraordinary bitterness, but at what a price! As before pointed out, the real significance of the matter is the apparent ease with which the constitution is set aside to meet the necessities of a race problem. Either the constitution must fall into contempt or we shall have to stop taking on groups of population to whom our fundamental institutions cannot be extended in practice as well as in theory.

THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS

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The conference of the National Negro Business League, which assembled in Boston in August of 1900, was unique. For the first time since the negroes were freed an attempt was made to bring together, from all over the United States, a company of representative business men and women of the race. Over three hundred delegates were present. They came from thirty states, and from an area which extended from Nebraska to Florida and from Texas to Maine.

Many of these men once were slaves. Others were younger men, born since the civil war and educated in the industrial schools and colleges; but they were almost all alike in one respect, that they had come up from the bottom and had gained whatever of property and position which they possessed by their own efforts. The business enterprises which they represented were manifold; their range and the success which these men have attained in them were object-lessons to the country. Another lesson, no less striking, was the conduct of the conference itself.

The New Orleans riots occurred while the preparations for the conference were being made. The streets of New York resounded to the cries of a negro-hunting mob just at the time when many of the dele-

gates were leaving their homes to come to Boston. When the conference assembled, on the morning of August twenty-third, the newspapers were filled with accounts of the disturbances at Akron. And yet, throughout sessions which occupied two days and two evenings, in which at least two hundred persons spoke, there was not one single reference to the riots or to the conditions which gave rise to them. These were business men, come to Boston for a definite purpose with which politics had no connection, and they attended strictly to business. Nor was this the result of fear or intimidation. The position of the promoters of the league had been plainly stated beforehand and the policy of the gathering outlined.

I quote from one of the most widely published announcements of the meetings: "Those who are interested in the success of the league do not underestimate the importance of seeing to it that the negro does not give up any part of the struggle for retaining his citizenship. They are against the repeal of the fifteenth amendment, and they believe that election laws throughout the country should be made to apply with equal justice to black and white alike. They believe that if the franchise is restricted in any state it should not be done in such a way that an ignorant white man can vote while an ignorant black man cannot. At the same time they recognize the fact that to retain citizenship and the respect of the nation there must go with the negro's demands for justice, tangible, indisputable proofs of the progress of the race, or, briefly, that deeds and words must go together. They believe that helping the negro along commercial lines will help his political status. This is not a political meeting. It is a business gathering. Politics and other general matters pertaining to the race are dealt with at the sessions of the national Afro-American Council."

I think that a paragraph in an editorial in one of the Boston papers, printed just after the conference adjourned, described the tone of the gathering admirably. It said: "There was no politics in this gathering. There was no clamoring for rights. There was as little sentimentality as in a meeting of stock jobbers or railroad directors. . . . Wanton, insane cruelty of white men was something which colored men, minding their own business, could not reasonably cause, nor effectually rebuke. With a perfect dignity they left the matter to those whom it concerned. . . . Their conduct was a sign of power, equal to any other that the conference gave witness of, the supreme power of manliness that is recognized in self-restraint."

It had seemed to me for some time that an organization was needed which would bring together the colored business men and women of the country for consultation and to obtain information and inspiration from each other. As I had traveled through the country, especially in the South, I had often been impressed and repeatedly surprised to see how many colored men were succeeding in business enterprises, often in small, out-of-the-way places where they are never heard of, but where they are doing good work not only for themselves but for the race. I do not mean that the men and women who are in business in the cities are not doing equally well, but their work is better known because it is more obvious. How much I wish that our race might be judged by these people and by its students and teachers instead of, as is too often the case, by those who are in the penitentiaries and idle on the street corners. Other races are judged by their best. Why not the negro?

Unless one has given some consideration to the subject he will be surprised to learn how widely the

colored people have gone into business. There were present at the meeting in Boston the representative of a colored cotton factory, a bank president, the president of a negro coal mine, grocers, real-estate dealers, the owner of a four-story brick storage warehouse and the proprietor of a trucking business operating forty teams, dry-goods dealers, druggists, tailors, butchers, barbers, undertakers, the owner of a steam carpet-cleaning business, manufacturers of brooms, tinware and metal goods, hair goods, etc., a florist, printers and publishers, insurance agents, caterers, restaurant keepers, general merchants, contractors and builders, the owner and proprietor of a brick yard (in North Carolina) which turns out several million bricks a year, and in fact representatives of almost every industry which can be suggested.

Two men who were present at the conference were the mayors of negro towns which they have built up in the South. One of these men, Mr. Isaiah T. Montgomery, was once a slave of Jefferson Davis. Fifteen years ago he began to colonize a tract of land in the valley of the Yazoo River, in Mississippi. Colored people now own 12,000 acres there. In the town of Mound Bayou, which is the nucleus of the settlement, Mr. Montgomery said there are ten stores and shops owned by colored people, doing a business of at least \$30,000 a year. Mr. J. C. Leftwich, of Alabama, owns over a thousand acres of land not far from Montgomery, where he is building up a town which he has named "Klondike." All the business is in the hands of colored people, even the postmaster being a colored man.

Three of the best addresses were made by women, one of them, Mrs. A. M. Smith, the president of a colored business woman's club and employment agency in Chicago; one by Mrs. A. Thornton, a dermatologist, of

Cincinnati, and one by Mrs. A. A. Casneau, a dressmaker, of Boston. The last named woman is the author of a book upon dressmaking which has been quite widely used. She told of an interesting experience with a white woman who came to Boston to take some additional lessons from her, suggested from the book, and who did not know that the woman she was coming to see was a colored woman. For this to be understood I must first relate an incident which occurred to one of our Tuskegee Institute students, because it was to this incident that Mrs. Casneau referred.

Among the other industries taught at Tuskegee Institute is that of dairying. We have a herd of over one hundred good dairy cows, and classes of young men and women are constantly receiving practical instruction in this industry, doing all of the work of the dairy at the same time. There came to our knowledge the fact that the owners of a certain creamery were looking for a competent superintendent. We had just graduated a man whom we knew to be thoroughly competent in every way, but he was just about as black as any one could possibly be. Nevertheless we sent him on to apply for the position. When the owners of the creamery saw him they said: "But you are a colored man. That would never do. We cannot hire a colored man."

Our candidate politely intimated that he had not come there to talk about any color except butter color, and kept on talking about that, while the owners kept talking about his color. Finally something which he said so caught their attention that they told him he might stay and run the creamery for a fortnight, although they still insisted that it was out of the question for them to hire a colored man as superintendent.

When the returns for the first week's shipment of butter made by our man came back, it was found that the butter had sold for two cents a pound more than

any product of the creamery had ever before sold for. The owners of the establishment said: "Why, now, this is very singular;" and waited for the next week's report.

The second week's returns showed that the butter had sold for a cent a pound more than that of the week before, three cents more than before the colored man had taken charge of the work. That time the owners did not stop to say anything. They simply hired the man as quickly as they could. The extra three cents on a pound which he could get for his butter had knocked every particle of color out of his skin so far as they were concerned.

Mrs. Casneau, in her address before the league, said that when she received a letter from her customer saying that the woman was coming to Boston to call upon her at a certain time, her courage failed her because she knew that this customer had no idea that she was to meet a colored woman as the author of the book which she had been studying. When the day came, and the bell rang, and she was told that this woman had arrived, she was at first almost tempted to send in word that she was ill and could not see her, when suddenly there came into her mind the story of the Tuskegee graduate who had declined to discuss any question of color except the butter color which pertained to his business. "I went into the room as bravely as I could," she said, "and, although the woman looked and acted just as I felt sure she would, I would not let myself take any notice of it, but went on talking business as fast as I could. The result was that we made a business engagement, through which, afterwards, other work came to me."

This meeting not only showed to the country what the colored people are doing, but it gave the delegates, especially those who came from the South, an oppor-

tunity to see something of the business methods employed by northern people. I think it will have something of the same good effect on them that the bringing of the Cuban teachers to the United States may be expected to have on the Cubans.

If a record of the business enterprises operated by colored men and women in the United States were available it would be interesting and instructive, but such information has not yet been very generally reported.

From the published reports of the valuable studies of Professor W. E. B. Du Bois I make a few extracts bearing on the subject. In his book, "The Philadelphia Negro," Dr. Du Bois deals chiefly with the colored people of the seventh ward of that city. The author says that this particular ward is selected because it "is an historic center of negro population and contains one-fifth of all the negroes in the city." The negro population of Philadelphia in 1890 was 40,000, and over 8,000 lived in this ward. Both these numbers will undoubtedly show an increase when the figures of the census recently taken are available. In this ward Dr. Du Bois found the following-named business establishments operated by negroes: 39 restaurants, 24 barber shops, 11 groceries, 11 cigar stores, 2 candy and notion stores, 4 upholsterers, 2 liquor saloons, 4 undertakers (two of these were women), 1 newspaper, 1 drug store, 2 patent-medicine stores, 4 printing offices.

There were 83 caterers in the ward, but some of these Dr. Du Bois reports as doing a small business, and others as engaged in the business only a part of the year, being otherwise employed the rest of the time. The business of catering by negroes in Philadelphia has always been remarkable for the ability and success with which it has been conducted. Several men of the race in that city have been famous for their

work in this line. Dr. Du Bois, in writing of the caterer, reports "about ten who do a business of from \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year."

In addition to these there were at the same time in other parts of the city, among the negro business establishments, 49 barber shops, 8 grocery stores, 27 restaurants, 8 coal and wood dealers. There was a successful florist, a large crockery store, and successful real-estate dealers.

From the reports of other studies of Dr. Du Bois, in the South, I make some extracts. I do not quote his lists in full, but give only a few of the leading enterprises reported:

Birmingham, Ala.—8 grocers, 6 barbers, 4 druggists, 4 tailors. Montgomery, Ala.—6 grocers, 2 undertakers, 2 drug-store keepers, 1 butcher. Vicksburg, Miss.—2 jewelers, 2 tailors, 2 drug-store keepers, 2 newspapers, 2 dry-goods dealers, 1 undertaker. Nashville, Tenn.—9 contractors, 6 grocers, 2 undertakers, 2 saloon keepers, 2 drug stores. Houston, Tex.—11 grocers, 10 real-estate dealers, 5 contractors, 6 barbers. Richmond, Va.—2 banking and insurance men, 2 undertakers, 2 fish dealers. Tallahassie, Fla.—3 groceries, 2 meat markets. Americus, Ga.—12 groceries, 1 drug store, 1 wood yard. Seattle, Wash.—1 real-estate dealer, 2 barbers, 3 restaurants. I do not have available a list of enterprises in the city of Pensacola, Fla., but there are at least two groceries there, conducted by colored men, doing a business of \$10,000 a year each, and successful restaurants, contractors, drug-store keepers, shoe-makers and tailors.

Much has been said and written about the fitness of the negro for work in cotton factories. Until the negro is given a fair trial under encouraging conditions I shall be slow to believe that he is not fitted for profitable work in factories. For years the colored

man has been the main operative in the tobacco factories of the South, and, aside from this, he operates in very large measure all of the cotton-seed oil mills in the South and is engaged in every avenue of mechanical work. I think those who hold to the theory that the negro cannot be depended upon as a laborer in factories will find their theory exploded in a few years very much in the same way that dozens of other theories regarding him have been exploded.

The failure of the Vesta Cotton Mills, in Charleston, S. C., has been laid to the door of the negro. Those who have written on this subject seemingly forget, however, to state that these same mills failed once, and I think twice, under white labor and that these mills have never had colored labor exclusively in them. When I visited Charleston a few months ago and made a careful inspection of these mills, I found at least one-third of the operatives were white people, the remaining two-thirds being colored. The colored people, as I remember it, occupied two floors and the whites the other floor, so that the failure cannot be wholly ascribed to colored labor.

Few cotton mills North or South have succeeded in large cities where there is no opportunity to segregate and control the labor. If the negro is given a fair trial in a small village, or in a country district where he is so situated in his home life that the operators can control, as they do in the case of the white laborer, the life of the families, I believe that the negro will succeed in the cotton factory equally as well as the white man. Until such fair trial is given him it is unfair and misleading to make sweeping statements regarding his reliability in this respect.

In further proof of my statement that the negro can succeed in factory work if given a fair opportunity, I refer to the employment of colored persons in the

silk factory at Fayetteville, N. C., a small town where conditions are much more conducive to factory life than in Charleston. Mr. H. E. C. Bryant, a white man and one of the editors of the *Charlotte Daily Observer*, published at Charlotte, N. C., recently visited this silk factory in Fayetteville and after his visit said in his paper:

"It is the most unique and interesting manufacturing plant in the state, if not in the entire South. It is managed by Rev. T. W. Thurston, a mulatto, born in Pennsylvania and educated in Philadelphia, and who is highly respected by the white and colored citizens of Fayetteville."

Mr. Bryant further remarks:

"It has proved a signal success. Its continued success will mean much to the negro of the South. The building is of brick, three stories high, and the mill has 10,000 spindles and employs 400 operatives, mainly boys and girls between 10 and 18 years old. The first floor contains the reeling department over which Mr. J. H. Scarbough, a young German, is foreman; the second is devoted to winding and doubling, and Gertrude Hood (colored), daughter of Bishop Hood, is in charge; and the third, weaving, with Mr. Harry Fieldhouse, an Englishman, as foreman. The mill has the appearance of a well-regulated school. The operatives are thoroughly organized and work with perfect system. I found order and neatness on every hand. The children did not seem frightened but satisfied and ambitious. None but the best class of boys and girls are employed at the silk mills. The employment of colored labor has not caused racial trouble. It takes the young negro from the streets and makes a good citizen of him and turns loose about \$4,000 a month to spend for food and clothing."

Despite these evidences of progress, it has been said, sometimes, that negroes cannot come together and successfully unite in holding such meetings as that of the National Negro Business League, and that this is a proof of their business incapacity. I think such a meeting as that of last August disproves that theory. What gave me the most encouragement was the manly and straightforward tone used in all the papers and discussions. There were no complaints. At the next session I believe that there will be still larger numbers and stronger support. I believe that as a race we shall

succeed and grow, and be a people, with our due representation in business life, right here in America. We must not be discouraged, and we must watch our opportunities and take advantage of them. There is no force on earth that can keep back a brave people that is determined to get education and property and Christian character. They never can be defeated in their progress.

VICTORIA AND HER REMARKABLE REIGN

The death of Queen Victoria closed the longest reign in the history of monarchical institutions. She was on the throne sixty-four years (1837-1901), being four years longer than the reign of any other European monarch. George the Third's reign was the next longest, being sixty years (1760-1820), but during the last nine years he was insane and the government was under the regency of his son, George IV. Henry III. reigned fifty-six years (1216-1272), and Edward III. fifty years (1327-1377).

Besides being the longest, Victoria's reign was in all respects the most remarkable. Under it more political, industrial and religious progress was made than during the reign of any ten other monarchs the world ever saw. Since Victoria came to the throne industry has been revolutionized, the condition of the laboring classes in England has been changed from that of practical serfdom to political and social freedom; the hours of labor have been reduced one-third and wages doubled; the English workmen have been made into active citizens with the full power of the franchise, politically the equals of any lord in the realm. Religious freedom has been definitely and irrevocably secured, and in Ireland at least church and state have been completely separated, catholics and protestants being put upon a common level. The principle of democracy has been thoroughly established, the right of nomination as well as of election has been taken from a faction and class and given to the people, so that not only the house of commons but the officers of municipal government throughout England, both in their selection and election, are in the hands of the people. In

this respect the political progress in England has reached a more advanced and more truly democratic plane than has yet been attained even in this country.

But in all this the queen played practically no part, and so far as is known she never expressed an approving opinion of any of the great reforms that shocked England during her reign. Her chief virtue in this respect was in refraining from opposition.

In the case of the abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army, she was practically coerced by Mr. Gladstone. The house of commons had acted in favor of abolition, and, knowing the house of lords would oppose it, he asked the queen to do it by royal proclamation. She was utterly opposed to the measure, but he asked her in such a way that her very frugal shrewdness prevented her from declining. Had she done so the house of commons might have refused to vote the supplies for the civil list and various special allowances for the personal expenditures and perquisites of the royal family, amounting to over a million pounds a year, which in that case would have to be defrayed from her majesty's private resources. Nor did she refuse to approve the bill to disestablish the Irish church, nor for that matter any other bill passed by parliament. She never once exercised the veto power. But she never forgave Mr. Gladstone for forcing upon her these disagreeable duties. The popularity of the great Commoner was too great for even the queen openly to oppose.

This should not be recorded as particularly against the queen. She could hardly be expected to be personally in favor of such progressive steps. She was at the very center of conservatism. Her whole environment, interests and thinking were of necessity from the point of view of conserving the traditions of the monarchy, and with it, of course, the status of the aristo-

cratic classes. It is not surprising, therefore, that she should on a few occasions have shown reluctance to approve, or even opposition to, the innovations of a manifestly democratic movement. The surprise is, rather, that she should have acquiesced in so much and opposed so little. This is really the secret of her popularity. It was not for what she did but for what she refrained from doing that the English people learned to love her so much.

She was reared in the era of middle-class struggle for freedom and was queen during the era of the popular struggle for democracy. Less than three months after she was born the "Peterloo massacre" occurred, in which many people were killed and injured for attending a public meeting in Peterloo Square, Manchester, to protest against the corn laws and demand the right to vote. Instead of suppressing the movement this massacre had the effect of intensifying it, and under the leadership of Henry Hunt, who was chief speaker at the forbidden meeting, it increased from that time on. Overthrow of the "rotten-borough" system and establishment of legitimate representation in parliament became the objects of an irrepressible demand which culminated in the passage of the reform bill of 1832, giving the middle-class representation in parliament.

Simultaneously with this movement the factory system had come into existence. With it came a period of increasing wealth and power for the middle class and dire oppression for labor. The poorhouses were emptied into the factories and little children as well as women and men were worked sixteen hours a day. The landed aristocracy, which was intensely jealous of this rapidly growing middle class, protested against the brutality of the factory masters under their new system of industry, and thus encouraged the movement for reform of

the factory conditions. In 1802 a law was passed preventing children working in factories on Sundays, in order that they might attend divine service. In 1815 a committee was appointed by the house of commons to investigate the conditions of factory labor, which resulted in the passage of a law in 1819 prohibiting the employment of children under nine years of age, and restricting all workers under sixteen years to twelve hours a day.

Thus the movement for wholesome industrial legislation had taken practical form at the time the queen was born. Through the cooperation of the more philanthropic members of the aristocracy and the increasing boldness of the laborers, together with the experiments of Robert Owen, the short-hour movement pushed forward with increasing vigor. A further legal reduction of the hours of labor to eleven and a half a day was secured in 1825, and in 1831 the hours were reduced to eleven, and night work for all persons under 18 years of age abolished. In 1833 this law was extended to numerous other industries and finally to coal mines.

Under the leadership of Wilberforce, after twenty-seven years agitation, slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions, and in 1835 the chartist movement was organized, demanding universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, no property qualifications, and payment of members of parliament. Thus, when Victoria came to the throne, she found the middle class possessing the suffrage, the factory acts in operation, and an organized movement among the masses for universal suffrage, the secret ballot and a program amounting practically to democracy.

All this had a wholesome influence on the young queen. She had seen the danger of obstinate resist-

ance to the popular will in the experience of her uncle, William IV., who was compelled to promise an unlimited increase of peers to pass the first reform bill; so that when she became queen, to her great credit be it recorded, she left all the actual resistance to these rapidly growing demands for reform to the aristocracy and to parliament. Her non-interference steadily increased her popularity with the people until they almost came to believe that she favored their demands. At any rate they felt sure that if they could secure parliament they would have no trouble with the queen, for which they learned to love her. The house of lords, on the contrary, steadily interposed its opposition to every step of political advance, and thereby earned the distrust and almost hatred of the common people in about the same degree that the queen secured their respect and admiration.

At this time also, England was greatly stirred by an agitation for the repeal of religious disabilities, which excluded everybody from holding office except members of the church of England. This movement had been growing more intense every year since the passage of the reform bill, and in 1828 parliament was compelled to yield to the pressure of the demand of the non-conformists for the repeal of the "test and corporation act." This act made it necessary to take the sacrament of the Church of England to hold any office, national or local, in Great Britain, and therefore excluded all non-conformists as well as catholics and Jews from holding any public office whatever. The repeal of this act gave encouragement to the catholics, who for years had been struggling for the right of representation in parliament. Their exclusion had been accomplished by compelling them to take an oath subscribing to the protestant religion. A measure for abolishing this oath had already been rejected many

times by the house of lords, Daniel O'Connell having been elected twice and prevented from taking his seat. Under the advice of the Duke of Wellington, as a choice between "reform and revolution," the house of lords yielded and catholic emancipation was obtained in 1829.

Now began that severe contest between the aristocratic land-owning class and the mercantile class, known as the anti-corn-law agitation. In 1839 the anti-corn-law league was organized in Manchester. It had behind it the wealth and vigor of the entire manufacturing class of England. The object of this league was to secure the removal of all duties on foodstuffs, which meant the adoption of free trade in England. English manufacturers had outlived the need of protection, which had been vigorously insisted upon from the time of Edward III. They had obtained a monopoly of factory methods, which gave them an advantage over all foreign competitors, and what they now wanted was cheap food and foreign markets for manufactured wares. The chartist movement, on the other hand, was a real democratic industrial movement for the masses. This demanded the same political rights for laborers that their employers had received by the act of 1832. Although it was a continuation of the Henry Hunt movement, which included the repeal of the corn laws, the chartists had dropped the repeal of the corn laws from their demands. Their reason for doing so was that the repealers, who were the manufacturers, wanted cheap bread only that they might pay low wages. This attitude of the chartists had been created by the bitter opposition of the whole manufacturing class to the factory acts.

The first years of the queen's reign, therefore, were occupied with these two movements, which were probably more intense than any two movements that

ever existed simultaneously and were not actual war. One movement represented the employing class and the other the laborers and unenfranchised masses. The landed aristocracy was the mortal enemy of the anti-corn-law league, and hence, while not the least in sympathy with anything like democracy, it gave some encouragement to the movement of the masses, particularly on the line of factory legislation. Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, who was a traditional landed aristocrat, a prominent tory and unrelenting antagonist to the anti-corn-law league, was a member of the first reform parliament and assumed the leadership of the laborers' demand for factory legislation. Beginning with 1840 he brought the subject before parliament almost every year. In 1844 he succeeded in getting a law enacted prohibiting the working of children under 14 years of age more than half time in any industry whatever, compelling them to go to school the other half-day, making attendance on school a requisite to the right of employment. This law is still in operation and is one of the best pieces of legislation for the health, education and social improvement of the English laborers that was ever enacted.

At this same time, under the leadership of John Bright, who entered politics in 1841 and parliament in 1843, and Richard Cobden, the real leader of the anti-corn-law movement, the struggle for free trade waxed hot both inside and outside parliament. In parliament the annual struggle was being made for more factory legislation, out of parliament the agitation of the chartists on the one hand and the corn-law repealers on the other, keeping England in a constant state of ferment. The chartists were meeting on Sundays in the fields and on the hilltops near every large town, and the corn-law repealers were holding mass meetings in all available halls and theatres in the large cities. During the

four months from December, 1842, to March, 1843, for instance, there were 136 mass meetings held in London at which Bright and Cobden spoke. In many instances the leaders of the two movements held public debates and in not a few instances the meetings ended in riot and bloodshed.

Both of these movements which so stirred England during the first ten years of the queen's reign culminated about the same time. In 1846 the corn laws were repealed. This so exasperated the land owners that the next year the tories voted for Lord Ashley's ten-hour bill, to punish the manufacturers for having repealed the corn laws. The chartists attempted revolution and were suppressed in 1848.

The queen having married, February 10th, 1840, now had the wise cooperation, counsel and support of Prince Albert, who was sympathetic and sagacious and always showed an intelligent appreciation of the temper of the English people,—which was very necessary during the very lively times of the middle of the century. Instead of the people becoming indifferent after these great accomplishments, success only whetted the appetite for more. The operation of the ten-hour factory law was so beneficial to all the laborers affected that it laid the foundation for wider application of the factory acts and gained increasing support from all the disinterested classes in the community. During the next ten years, in almost every session parliament was asked to extend the factory acts to new industries or amend the law for its better enforcement, resulting in the creation of a board of factory inspectors. This movement gathered in its support not merely the factory workers themselves but philanthropists, ministers, educators and physicians, all of whom testified to the beneficial effects upon the physical health as well as the mental and moral character of the operatives. But, in

addition to all this, its economic effect was such as effectively to disprove every pessimistic prediction made by its opponents, the leaders of whom were Bright, Cobden and the anti-corn-law advocates. Its influence in this respect was perhaps the most marvellous of all, since it actually converted several of the staunchest opponents of the movement.

On one instance, in 1860, when the motion was before the house of commons to extend the operation of the factory acts to hitherto unprotected industries, Mr. Arthur Roebuck and Sir James Graham, two of the most conspicuous speakers against the ten-hour law in 1847, rose in the house of commons and testified to their entire conversion and apologized for having voted against the ten-hour law. Both men supported the new measure. Sir James Graham (formerly prime minister) prefaced his vote by saying: "*By the vote I shall give to-night, I will endeavor to make some amends for the course I pursued in earlier life in opposing the factory bill.*" Four years later, Sir Thomas Bazley, Mr. Gladstone and others changed their position on the question in the same manner, and in 1874 with Mr. Gladstone's aid the hours of labor were further reduced to nine-and-a-half hours a day. During this period, also, labor unions advanced from the position of conspiracies before the law to a legal respectable status, recognized not only by the laboring class but ultimately among the employers as a legitimate feature of successful industry.

While the immediate effect of the repeal of the corn laws was not as expected, when industries were adjusted to the new conditions the increase of manufacturing industries was enormous. Foreign trade multiplied, labor for mechanics was increased, wages rose, prosperity and its concomitant welfare prevailed in all branches of manufacture, but the death blow was struck to agriculture. The foreign influx of foodstuffs

destroyed all energy and success in English agriculture, and the progress of the agricultural class, particularly the laborers, was effectually arrested. What is worse, it has essentially remained so until this day. Wages of agricultural laborers in 1901 are not perceptibly higher than they were in 1840. The only advantage they have reaped from the immense progress during the last sixty years is what has reached them in the cheapening of the commodities they consume. Even in the case of manufacturing industry, the advantage a free-trade policy gave England seems to have nearly run its course. Other countries have been introducing modern machinery, operated by labor cheaper than English manufacturers can command, to such an extent that manufactured goods are even shipped into England and sold in the English market. The result is that to-day England is seriously considering the revival of a quasi-protective tariff policy.

In the sphere of politics, the progress about the middle of the century was commensurate with the expansion of manufactures and commerce and the increased welfare of the laborers. The new spirit of liberty demanded freedom of the press, and in 1855 the stamp tax on newspapers, which had once been as high as eight cents a copy, was finally abolished. Moreover, the struggle for religious rights, which in 1828 had abolished the test and corporation act and in 1829 given catholic emancipation, in 1858 removed the last disabilities of the Jews and established their right to sit in parliament.

On the principle that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," the suppressed chartist movement rose again in the form of the cooperative movement. The very year after the chartist leaders were sent to jail, George Jacob Holyoake and a few of the unimprisoned disciples of chartism met in Toad Lane,

Rochdale, and formed a pioneer cooperative society, which is to-day the greatest cooperative enterprise in the world. Imbued with the spirit of agitation born of the chartist and short-hour movements, it became a part of the policy of the cooperators to furnish a lecture hall and reading room in connection with the cooperative store, and as a very large number of them owned their own buildings these lecture halls became the chief places of public discussion for radical movements, the churches and schoolrooms being reserved for the opposition.

The importance of this to civilization was soon to be apparent. When the civil war in this country broke out, these cooperative lecture halls became the Faneuil Halls of England, from which the voice of the people effectively went forth and prevented the English government from siding with the South and giving victory to the slave power against the union. This was indeed a period of political education for the unenfranchised laborers of England; and after the close of the civil war, when the factories resumed work and prosperity returned, the effect of this education showed itself in the new political movements among the masses.

A league was organized in Birmingham, known as the Birmingham reform league, for the purpose of agitating another extension of the franchise. The chief demands of this league were manhood suffrage and vote by ballot. John Bright, although he had been an unmitigated opponent of the factory acts, was the most conspicuous and powerful leader in the movement just referred to regarding the American war and in this had become a popular hero of the nation. When the new reform movement began, Mr. Bright gave it his warmest support and became one of its most prominent advocates. At the election in 1865 parliamentary reform was made the issue and Mr. Gladstone its

leader. He was elected with a good majority in the house of commons and immediately proceeded to introduce a reform bill,—not, indeed, as radical as that demanded by the Birmingham league but sufficiently so to propose giving the householders in boroughs a vote. Mr. Gladstone's bill was defeated, he resigned, and Lord Derby was made prime minister with Disraeli chancellor of the exchequer.

The avowed object of the new administration was, as Lord Derby expressed it, "to stem the tide of democracy." This was another sting to the people, who had now become irrepressibly committed to an extension of the franchise. Under the spur of this setback, Mr. Bright told a meeting of workingmen in London that if they would "fill the space between Charing Cross and Westminster no ministry would dare to refuse their demands." They took his advice, agitation at once broke out, and in the large cities, particularly in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and throughout the north of England, monster meetings were held such as are unknown in this country. In the summer of 1866, among other immense meetings, a demonstration was arranged to be held in Hyde Park, which had long been used for public gatherings. Learning that this was to be an immense affair, the government made great preparations to stop it, and gave orders through Scotland Yards to keep the gates of Hyde Park locked and prevent the meeting from being held. This so enraged the people, who had hitherto had no other than the most peaceful intentions, that they broke the gates, tore down nearly two miles of the iron railings surrounding the park, and rushed in, trampling over shrubs and breaking small trees. They held their meeting, with several platforms, the chief one being under the largest tree in the park, which to this day is called the "reform tree." That broke the resistance to

parliamentary reform in the house of commons as completely as it did the railings around Hyde Park. The tory ministry introduced a still more radical measure than the one proposed by Mr. Gladstone, which they had defeated a few weeks before; and the second reform bill became a law in 1867.

This radical change in the electorate, involving a change in the constitution of the house of commons, called for a dissolution of parliament, but just before its dissolution Mr. Gladstone introduced what proved to be another stirring reform. It consisted of three resolutions calling for the disestablishment of the Irish church. This was the issue of the campaign, and a bitter issue it was. The proposition was one more step in the direction of religious freedom. It took away the state revenues from the church and applied them to education in Ireland. On that issue Mr. Gladstone was triumphantly elected, with a majority of 120 in the house of commons. To this reform, as to nearly every really progressive step that had been taken during the century, the house of lords was a force of obstruction. Bishops who had seats in the house of lords became frantic at the prospect of disestablishing the Irish church, not so much on account of the church in Ireland but they saw in it the ultimate disestablishment of the church of England. However, the spirit of justice and religious freedom had made successful opposition to disestablishment impossible. Gladstone and his majority in the new parliament meant business, the church was disestablished, and religious equality secured for Ireland.

In 1870 parliament passed a law providing for popular education. Education, much less free education except what was provided by the factory acts, was until then unknown in England. In 1871 Mr. Gladstone also took the radical step which led to the abolition of purchase of commissions in the army,—a direct blow to the influ-

ence of the aristocracy which fairly infuriated the house of lords. It was this which led Mr. Gladstone to do the exceptional thing already referred to, of asking the queen to abolish the purchase of commissions by royal proclamation and thus accomplish the desire of the house of commons and the people independently of the house of lords.

With all the progress that had taken place, the established church in England still had the right to tax dissenters of every denomination for the support of the Episcopal church. It was common for rich clergymen who were land owners with opulent rent rolls to go around and exact church rates from the poorest inhabitants of their parishes, and if they refused have them sent to jail. Cases of this kind were commonly occurring in different sections of England, of course most frequently in the agricultural sections where the people had made the least progress. A long account of one such case is given by the *Suffolk Mercury*, in October, 1873, where a rich land-owning clergyman had thrown a poor man named James Grant into jail because he refused to pay church rates, and his family were starving for lack of income because of his incarceration. The next year, 1874, Mr. Gladstone introduced a bill abolishing this scandalous religious tax, and so removed the last offensive burden upon the people for the state church, although the church still enjoys an income of some ten million pounds a year from state sources.

With every new advance progress moved still more rapidly, and, since the second reform bill only extended the suffrage to householders in boroughs and established a ten-pound qualification for voting outside of counties, the spirit of democracy again asserted itself and demanded the extension of suffrage to all householders in both county and borough. This was granted in 1874, again under the leadership of Gladstone, thus

extending the suffrage to the remnant of the unenfranchised classes—the agricultural laborers. This made England for all practical purposes a democracy.

All in all, the progress England has made during Queen Victoria's reign is the most remarkable chapter in the world's history. It is even greater in many respects than the progress that has been made in this country. At the beginning of her reign the United States was already a firmly established republic. Religious freedom and popular education were already accomplished facts. Universal suffrage was in general practice, whereas in England at the beginning of her reign popular government was unknown. Only the smallest group of the middle class had any political voice, the house of commons was practically a packed assembly, the press was taxed, the right of religious opinion was vouchsafed only to the believers in the established church. Laborers had no right to organize or safely to conduct public meetings in their own interests. In fact, ignorance, squalor, physical deformity and religious and political oppression were the lot of the average English laborer. During her reign, to a very great extent, despotism has been transformed into democracy, ignorance into intelligence and enlightenment, poverty into prosperity and social welfare, persecution into protection; and the principle of liberty and human rights, both at home and abroad, has become the ruling spirit of the English nation. All this has taken place under Queen Victoria's reign, and for the most part, if not by her aid, at least without her obstruction,—something which can be said of no other monarch, and for which her descendants, as well as the English people and for that matter the English-speaking race everywhere, may be supremely proud.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN

D. L. CEASE, EDITOR "RAILROAD TRAINMEN'S JOURNAL"

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, organized at Oneonta, New York, September 23d, 1883, is a protective labor and insurance association; that is, it endeavors to secure for its members, and all others in the same class of service, what is believed in fairness to be due to them in the way of wages and conditions of employment, and it conducts an insurance department on the mutual assessment plan, in which every member, physically qualified, must participate. The organization is not, strictly speaking, a trade organization, although its members come from the train service of the steam railroads and each member must be employed thereon as either conductor, baggageman, brakeman or switchman. The three last mentioned classes of service predominate, for the conductors have a well-established organization in which the great majority of that branch of the train service is to be found. Generally speaking, the conductors who are members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen are those who have been members of that organization while in the lower grades of the service and have retained their membership rather than seek other affiliation.

The history of labor organization is very much the same and divides the organized labor movement into two classes, namely, the successful organizations and the unsuccessful ones. There can be no middle ground between effectiveness and impotency, for a labor organization must be either one or the other. It does not necessarily follow that, to be successful, an organ-

ization must revolutionize the working conditions of the trade it represents but it is essential to its success that it protect wages and working conditions, except when, because of business depression or adverse trade conditions, it is forced by business exigency temporarily to accept unsatisfactory conditions. A labor organization may be entirely unsuccessful in improving the wage-earning capacity of its members and yet, because of its educative opportunities afforded the members, it may be eminently successful in every other respect. An organization failure can generally be traced to personal ambition and jealousy on the part of its leaders, inability to govern its affairs intelligently, participation in partisan politics, and internecine dissensions that ultimately lead to disruption and loss of influence.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen feels entitled to recognition as a successful labor organization, and for the reason that within the few years of its being it has accomplished more than usually falls to the credit side of a labor organization account.

The Brotherhood started its career with the expressed belief that there was no reason for serious differences between the employer and the employee, and it included in its declaration of principles this statement: "Persuaded that it is for the interest both of our members and their employers that a good understanding should at all times exist between the two, it will be the constant endeavor of this organization to establish mutual confidence and create and maintain harmonious relations," and the organization can lay honest claim to the fact that it has never repudiated its declaration.

The organization, by its practical methods of fair dealing, has overcome to a large extent what opposition was against it at its inception; it has secured to its members all the advantages that accrue from increased

wages and improved conditions of employment; it has secured favorable legislation in some instances, and in particular was very effective in securing the passage of the automatic safety-appliance act, protecting trainmen in their employment; it has furnished its members insurance at cost and, what can be considered as a most worthy achievement, it has raised the moral and intellectual standard of its members and their families and in consequence has advanced them to a higher social position. The organization has been a school of practical economics in which the members have learned many valuable lessons on the relative questions of work and wages; and, in the knowledge that differences are not all one-sided, the organization has sought to adjust all questions that have arisen between the employer and the employee in an amicable manner. It has stood fast to its ideas of the advantage of conference, and in the failure of an agreement it has sought to adhere to its principles pertaining to conciliation, mediation and arbitration, rather than indulge in serious controversy with the employer.

The protective feature of the organization has been instrumental in accomplishing the most satisfactory results. Before there was an organization the men in the train service were paid ridiculously low wages and were subject to the arbitrary performances of their superiors, who exercised their authority to discharge or suspend without question. No redress was possible and the employees were absolutely helpless against any decree that might be formulated by the employer.

To demonstrate briefly what has been done, the statement can be made that at present the members of the Brotherhood have secured contracts upon all of the leading roads of this country and Canada. The majority of the agreements bear the signatures of the managers and the committees representing the employees, but

there are a few companies that do not care to enter into a written agreement but which have made verbal agreements; and, whether written or verbal, it can be said to the credit of both employers and employees that the spirit and letter of the contracts have been generally observed.

These contracts represent increased wages, shorter hours, improved conditions of service, and guarantee promotion if ability warrants, in addition to which they assure the right of appeal against unjust treatment and generally cover all questions pertaining to the rules governing the service. An average increase in wages of thirty-five per cent. has been secured since the formation of the organization, and when it is remembered that this statement applies to all the employees in the service as well as to the members of the Brotherhood the far-reaching results can be appreciated.

There has been so much said of the arbitrary performances of labor organizations that a word concerning the method of procedure may not be out of place here. An agreement is first undertaken by the committee representing the men, asking for an audience with the management. When the date is fixed the manager and the committee meet and go over the proposition submitted by the committee. The meeting is a business one and opinions concerning the matters under discussion are freely expressed by both sides. If, after a hearing and consideration of the question, the propositions are conceded or satisfactorily modified, the agreement is concluded and the committee returns to its duties in the service. Should there be a failure to agree, the committee will request the presence of the chief executive officer of the organization to assist them in effecting a settlement. Generally the manager, that officer, and the committee will arrange the questions in dispute, and many managers prefer to have the attend-

ance of the officer, since the experience and knowledge of prevailing conditions possessed by him greatly assists to facilitate the business in hand.

But if it so happen that no agreement can be reached and the questions in controversy are of vital importance to the employees, the result of the conference is given to the men and they decide whether it shall be pressed further or dismissed. If they decide to continue the affair, the question of striking (leaving work peaceably and in a body) is submitted to a secret ballot of the men. If two-thirds of them vote for a strike, and the vote receives the sanction of the grand master and the committee, a strike may be declared, but not until every effort that is consistent without sacrifice of honor and self-respect shall have been made to avert trouble. The organization is opposed to a strike and provides, as a penalty for indulging in an illegal strike, expulsion from the Brotherhood.

It has been necessary to indulge in two strikes, but to-day the men have a good contract on each system where the strike occurred and both employer and employee have the highest regard for each other. The organization was forced in each instance to take the position it did, and I believe that at this time the officers of each company appreciate that fact.

The Brotherhood is desirous of maintaining friendly relations with the employers and will always contribute its part toward that end.

I know of no more convincing argument to present to bear out this statement of the good feeling existing between the employers and the Brotherhood than to point to the fact that, aside from four railways with an aggregate mileage of 6,500 miles, out of the (approximately) 200,000 miles in the United States and Canada, the relations are harmonious and have been brought about by conference and contract. What opposition

there is is of the evasive kind, and I feel perfectly safe in saying that it was founded in a mistaken idea of the purpose of the organization,

The insurance feature of the Brotherhood deserves special mention, since the hazardous nature of the employment of the members prevents them from enjoying the advantages offered to men in less dangerous vocations by fraternal associations. This department is operated from the fund raised for the conduct of the general business of the organization, and every dollar received on the assessments is paid back in the payment of claims. At this writing the amount paid reaches the respectable sum of \$6,250,000. Insurance is provided against disability and death, at a rate of \$20 per thousand per year. Three classes of policies are issued; namely, for \$400, \$800 and \$1,200. The great good that has come from this feature of the organization cannot be appreciated until a realization is had of the benefits that have accrued to thousands of the dependents of the disabled and deceased members.

The organization publishes a monthly journal, known as the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*. It is sent to each member of the organization and to subscribers who desire it. It is intended for the general information of the members and their families and calculated to furnish them with reading matter along the lines that are adjudged to be of particular interest to them. It has been a very effective means of educating them along social and economic lines and has led them to become close students of social problems. I believe that, as a class, they are more devoted to such matters of interest than any other one class of workers.

I have prepared the following brief statement concerning the membership, the insurance carried, and its cost, for each year of the organization:

STATEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP, COST OF INSURANCE, NUMBER AND AMOUNT OF CLAIMS PAID IN THE BROTHERHOOD UP TO DEC, 31, 1900.

Fiscal Period.	Membership of Brotherhood at close of period.	Membership of Beneficiary Dept. at close of period.	Cost per \$1,000 of Insurance Carried.	Number of Claims Paid.	Amount Paid on Claims.
1883-'84	901	879	\$ 6,596 82
1884-'85	4,766	4,703	\$16 00	17	44,976 63
1885-'86	7,993	7,914	21 66	83	99,100 00
1886-'87	8,622	8,476	16 25	147	123,106 25
1887-'88	11,413	11,209	16 00	145	253,318 00
1888-'89	13,562	13,322	21 00	259	274,027 25
1889-'90	14,057	13,837	22 00	271	368,637 05
1890-'91	20,409	20,198	21 00	366	1,014,424 00
Sep. 1, '91 to Aug. 31, '93	28,540	28,219	23 00	1,014	590,310 20
Sep. 1, '93 to Dec. 31, '94	22,359	22,070	15 83	533	
1895-'96	22,326	21,846	{ A 22 50 B 22 50 C 20 00	751	893,407 89
1897-'98	31,185	28,198	{ A 22 50 B 22 50 C 20 00	928	1,042,014 44
1899-'00	43,225	41,565	{ A 22 50 B 22 50 C 20 00	1,316	1,419,828 42
			Total . .	5,830	\$6,129,746 95

Two assessments only of \$1 each for year 1884.

From Aug. 1, 1895, to July 31, 1897, there were three classes of insurance: A, \$400; B, \$800; C, \$1,200. Members had option of carrying any or all of them.

In its operation the Brotherhood is thoroughly democratic, it interferes with neither religious nor political opinions, it endeavors to educate its members, that they may adapt themselves to the changing social and economic conditions. It has raised the financial, moral and intellectual standing of its members and their families, as can be attested by their comfortable homes, their high standing in the communities in which they live, and the education that each family head is trying to give to his children, a combination of advan-

tages that shows for itself in the general condition of the families of our railroad employees.

It has not been my purpose to elaborate the principles of the organization but simply to present the general idea of the Brotherhood and its attitude toward the employer, together with such other information as seemed to be of interest. The policy of the Brotherhood is one of fairness in all things, and in following it out it has endeavored to be just and courteous to the employer and at the same time make every endeavor to secure each possible advantage for its members. As it commenced with its platform of amity and fairness, so it has continued and is now, standing for the industrial peace that is so necessary to industrial success.

UNAMERICAN STATESMANSHIP

The police law just enacted by the republican legislature of New York, under the leadership of Governor Odell, is a bold partisan violation of the essential principles of local self-government and is contrary to the spirit and genius of American institutions. The act abolishes the present board of police commissioners and substitutes a single commissioner, who is to be appointed by the mayor but who can be arbitrarily removed by the governor without cause or right of hearing. A person once so removed is declared forever ineligible for reappointment. This means that, unless the mayor appoints a commissioner who is agreeable to the governor for whatever reason, the governor can arbitrarily remove him. The logic of this is that the commissioner must be obedient to the governor and the powers the governor represents, rather than to the mayor and the citizens of the municipality who alone are interested.

The passage of this recklessly partisan measure has given Tammany, whose administration is a reeking scandal, the opportunity to pose as the champion of the people's right of self-government, and it has promptly taken advantage of the opportunity. Mayor Van Wyck's veto of the police bill was a strong and almost statesmanlike document. It exposed the partisan object of the measure, its manifest evasion of the constitution and its suppression of the right of the people to local self-government. The mayor had tradition, principle and the authoritative declaration of American statesmen in his favor; nay more, he had the history of constitution-making and the interpretation of the courts to support his rejection of the measure. If the republi-

can legislature and governor had especially designed to come to the rescue of Tammany politicians in their effort to get another lease of power in the metropolis, a more effective method could hardly have been devised. It puts the republican party in the position of an enemy to home rule and leaves the defence of the people's rights to Tammany.

In passing this measure the republican legislature does not represent the expressed or implied desire of the people. No such proposition for taking the government away from the people was hinted at during the campaign; yet, before the legislature convened, it was "authoritatively" announced that a single-headed police commission bill would be passed before the end of February. This was not the result of any public discussion of the subject by the people, not even of discussion among the members of the legislature, but "an announcement of what the legislature would do" by an individual who was not a member of either branch of the legislature nor even of the state government. This, therefore, is not a republican measure in the sense of representing the opinion or policy of the republican party, much less of the people of the city or state of New York, but it is the product of the personal management of the republican organization, which determines the nomination of candidates for both branches of the legislature and consequently controls their action.

It may be truly urged that the police force in New York city, under the control of Tammany, is an organized assistance to crime and fraud, that it is the black-mailing guardian of vice, the protector of crime to the neglect of the interests of decency, honesty and the wholesome forces of society, and if the indictment were made twice as severe it could not overstate the case. It is a desperate problem, but will the mere

transferring the control of the police force from New York city to Albany furnish any remedy? If we have reached the pass that a recourse to despotism is necessary to correct the vices of democracy and save society, we must at least be assured that the newly created autocrat will be clean, honest and efficient. With the present condition of organized politics in New York, however, this new law simply divides the power between the two political organizations. The power which announced that this bill would become a law before the end of February is the power which would control the action of the governor in his interference with the police department. We have just had conclusive evidence that this power which governs republican politics is as unclean as Tammany itself. It corrupts the primaries and coerces delegates, it dictates and sells nominations and blackmails corporations; in short, it lives and thrives upon the same debasing political methods which Tammany has reduced to a science. Under such conditions, to give the removal of the commissioner of police to a creature of the republican organization is simply to increase the power of that organization to force Tammany into a better division of the spoils.

It may be said that the power of arbitrary removal would seldom be used without proper cause, but the methods of Tammany are such that a proper cause could nearly always be found to exist, and consequently a division of the spoils could easily be exacted as the price of approval of a Tammany appointee.

There is little reason to believe that anything would be gained for clean government by placing the power of arbitrary removal of local officials in the hands of state or even of national authorities. Evidence is fresh in the minds of the people of a case where an appeal to the president, whom most people

regard as honest, utterly failed to secure recognition and action against the corrupters of our political machinery, although the very federal official who used his position to intimidate delegates, defeat the will of the people and destroy the very virtue of popular election, was of his own appointing and absolutely subject to the president's power of removal. The mayors, governors, and even president are for the most part creatures of this star-chamber political machinery. For political preferment even great journals bow to its power, and either attack virtue or suppress the exposure of vice as the interests of "personal politics" may dictate.

The first encounter between the two organizations for power and spoils under this new bill has already taken place. The police bill, through abolishing the police commission and office of chief, was intended permanently to remove Chief Devery and compel the Tammany mayor to put the police force of New York in cleaner hands, but it entirely miscarried in the first day of its existence. The character of the police bill is so perniciously partisan and undemocratic throughout that it emboldened Tammany's mayor to follow his very able veto by complete official defiance, and in less than twenty-four hours after the bungling measure became a law Devery was practically reinstated. The mayor promptly appointed one of the most offensive Tammany partisans to the position of single police commissioner, and the new commissioner within a few hours appointed the obnoxious Devery as his first deputy, which made him practically chief of police.

So that, in the first instance, the bungling scheme to make Tammany "come down" has utterly failed. The victory is completely with Tammany. The whole performance is so clumsy and partisan that it justifies the people in distrusting the republican party as managed by the "machine," and regarding it as in no

important respect superior to Tammany. This measure is bad politics as well as low statesmanship. It represents neither the republican party nor public opinion in the city or state. It is a bold but clumsy effort to use the legislature as an instrument of a politically degraded organization.

The people are honest; they believe in and desire clean politics, honest administration and a high standard of public life. They have no part in or sympathy with the methods of Tammany or the republican organization; they are the patient and discouraged victims of both. The people are honestly, anxiously, but doubtfully waiting for some method of emancipation from the dishonorable despotism thus exercised in the name of democracy. There is no hope of accomplishing any real reform in this direction by placing arbitrary power in the hands of any segregated political authority. The virtue of the nation is in the people. They furnish the moral fibre, conscience and integrity of our public life. Any reform, therefore, which shall impart cleanliness and virtue to our politics and public life must proceed by placing the government and responsibility for honest and competent administration in more direct touch with the people.

The road to home rule and direct responsibility of public officials is not in substituting governor for mayor but in making the mayor and the mayor alone responsible to the people for all municipal appointments and giving him the power of prompt removal. Then, if he act not the cause of his inaction will be obvious, the place of responsibility easy to locate, and the remedy directly in the hands of the people. In order to make this possible, however, the people must have the power to act; they must not only have the power to remove a bad mayor but they must have power to *nominate* as well as elect a good one. This cannot be secured, and the con-

trol of the people over the government fully established, until the power to dictate nominations is put beyond the reach of office-holding "organizations" by substituting nomination by petition for the present method of party conventions. Let the people once have the free and protected right to vote for the nomination of public officers as they now have to vote for their election, and the power of the "boss" in politics will be gone. Then, and not till then, will the virtue, conscience and character of the people be truly represented in the government.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IT IS ESPECIALLY unfortunate for Mr. Odell that he should have followed Theodore Roosevelt as governor. The contrast is painful and emphasizes the fact that Mr. Odell's promotion from chairman of the state committee to governor was a mistake. He seems desirous of doing something striking, and thus far it has been strikingly poor. His police bill is a discreditable botch. Instead of making Odell a hero it has put Van Wyck in the saddle and given Tammany an opportunity to pose as the friend of self-government. Governor Odell's much heralded and badly digested tax bills show the same lack of statesmanship, and, as if this were not enough, he is now credited with urging the revival of last year's mortgage-tax bill. If it be really true that he is not an instrument of the "organization," some one should whisper a little sane advice in his ear.

MR. BRYAN SEEMS to have the notion that Cuban independence means absolute sovereignty. To admit that would be to abrogate the Monroe doctrine altogether. Independence does not necessarily mean absolute and unqualified sovereignty. Greece is an independent state, but it could not exist an hour but for the interference of Europe in its behalf. Nearly all sovereignty is subject to the general peace and interests of other nations. When Turkey defeated Greece it was not permitted to do what it pleased with the little kingdom. When Japan defeated China it was not permitted to dictate the entire terms of peace. When Russia conquered Turkey, with its victorious armies at the gates of Constantinople, it was not permitted to dictate the terms of peace; the peace and future of other nations had to be considered. For the same reason that we

would not permit Spain endlessly to protract a harrowing war in Cuba, we should not permit Cuba to invite or allow any monarchical power to have possession of the island. Cuban independence should mean the freedom of Cuba to govern Cuba, but to govern it consistently with peaceful relations with the United States. If Cuba wants the right to sell the island back to Spain or to England or to Russia it should not, and in accordance with the Monroe doctrine and the very principle of our interference it would not, be permitted so to do.

IN 1899 the Minnesota legislature passed a law providing for nominations by petition in counties having 200,000 or more inhabitants. The only county in the state having the requisite population appears to have been the one in which Minneapolis is situated. Last fall, therefore, Minneapolis held an election under this new primary law. It demonstrated one fact conclusively: namely, that when the people realize that they have a right to vote and that their votes will count and not be offset by any coercing conspiracy they will attend the primaries with about the same interest that they have in voting on election day. In Minneapolis 32,000 people attended the primaries and voted for the nomination of candidates. This was more than the entire city vote cast at the preceding election for governor. The Minnesota law appears to have the defect of not limiting the primaries to the previously enrolled members of the respective parties; hence they are still exposed to the evil of "padded rolls" so prevalent in New York previous to the new primary law, which provides that only the enrolled voters of the respective parties shall be permitted to vote at a party's primaries. With this exception the Minnesota law for nominations by the people appears to be a complete success. No time should be lost in passing a similar law in New York; it should be passed be-

fore the legislature adjourns in order that the people may have the benefit of it in the coming municipal elections.

THE MACON *Telegraph* does not entirely like our criticism of its appeal to the South to adopt political exclusion, and rises to explain with a column-and-a-half editorial which touches the high-water mark of southern eloquence. There is always something delightfully frank about the southerner. While the *Telegraph* could not relish our remark that its "proposition is provincialism and not statesmanship" it frankly admits that its "impassioned appeal" was made in a moment of despair. That is all right. We all have moments of despair and say things that we do not expect will be held against us forever. Of course our contemporary could not let the occasion go by without delivering a soul-stirring oration on the horrors of reconstruction, too much of which is painfully true. But it does get in some very wholesome characterizations of the Altgelds and Crokers of the democratic party and justly draws the line with pride between these and the statesmen of whom the South is so proud. We do not mind at all the few hard things the *Telegraph* says, so long as it did not really mean to be taken seriously on that "political secession" proposition. If the South will only encourage its factories to adopt the program of the North Carolina manufacturers, of shortening the working day and promoting the education of factory children, nothing will stop her from fulfilling the *Telegraph's* prediction that: "In her own good time she will become the garden spot and pride of the greatest nation of the earth."

"Where wealth accumulates there men decay . . . The prosperity of the few means the robbery of the many." GEO. E. McNEIL.

THIS MIGHT have been expected from a young hot-head, an ignorant proletariat, or from an impulsive

miner or factory operative, but from the first deputy chief of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau and "sage of the labor movement," such utterances are unpardonable. They are contradicted by all experience. Wealth is steadily accumulating in this country and men are not decaying but are progressing; men are stronger and better and freer now than they ever were before wealth began to accumulate. The nation in which wealth does not accumulate is a nation of poverty and barbarism.

Nor is it true that "the prosperity of the few means the robbery of the many." A broader spirit among the employing class might have made a greater proportion of the increasing wealth go to the poor, but it is not true that their wealth has been acquired by "robbing" the poor. The welfare of the masses has progressed with the prosperity of the capitalists. Labor leaders like Mr. Gompers, Mr. Maguire and others, who have studied the economics of the labor question and attach more importance to fact than to rhetoric, constantly proclaim this. Laborers have no interest in stopping the "accumulation of wealth" nor in preventing "the prosperity of the few," but have an interest in seeing to it that the prosperity which at first comes to the few should be rapidly extended to the millions. It is in the nature of all progress that the benefits first come to the few and then extend to the larger groups until they reach the whole community. Empty epigrams may sway a meeting but they can never really help a cause.

THE POPE's recent encyclical against socialism is another evidence of his progressive statesmanship. His recognition of the political tendency toward democracy, and the economic tendency among the masses for organized action in their own interests, gives him the right to speak as a friend of society and of civilization, not merely for the upper class but for the masses. In

now encouraging the masses in desiring a more liberal participation in the benefits of industrial progress, and at the same time defending the rights of property and condemning the doctrine of socialism as inequitable, unchristian and uneconomic, he has rendered a real service to Christendom.

Rash socialism, which rests primarily upon unenlightened feeling, bolstered by perverted economic reasoning, is the most dangerous force with which society will have to deal in the first half of the twentieth century. If the great leaders among the capitalists in this country and Europe would act with as much intelligence and discrimination as the pope exhibits towards the present industrial movement, many of the ominous tendencies which threaten society would disappear. The spirit of socialism is abroad and it cannot be stamped out by arrogance and force. It must be led by reason, experience and ethics into the light of true social progress, upon the principle that the legitimate success of any means the improvement of all, and that no class can permanently improve its position by injuring that of any other. While it is clear that the destruction of capital means the poverty of the masses, it is equally manifest that the prosperity and progress of the masses is the only sure foundation of permanent success for capital.

IT IS MORE than encouraging to learn from Mr. Edward H. Sanborn, general manager of the National Association of Manufacturers, that the mill owners and managers in the South have become alive to the evil of child labor and are willing to cooperate in any measure to exclude children under twelve years of age from the factories, and still further that they are ready to adopt the ten-hour working day. To this end, Mr. Sanborn

says, an agreement has been signed by one hundred North Carolina manufacturers, as follows:

"We, the undersigned, cotton-mill owners and managers, agree to the following, taking effect March 1, 1901:

"(1) That one week's work shall not exceed sixty-six hours.

"(2) That no children less than twelve years old shall work in a cotton mill during the term of an available public school.

"Provided, this shall not apply to children of widows or physically disabled parents; provided further, that ten years shall be the lowest limit at which children may be worked under any circumstances.

"(3) That we will cooperate with any feasible plan to promote the education of working people in the state, and will cheerfully submit to our part of the burdens and labors to advance the cause of general education.

"(4) On the basis of the above agreements of the cotton-mill owners and managers, we hereby petition the legislature not to pass any labor laws at this session of the legislature."

This is the most remarkable thing of its kind that ever occurred. Individual employers have voluntarily reduced the hours of labor and otherwise improved the conditions of their laborers, but never before did manufacturers organize to bring about a general shortening of the hours of labor, restriction of the employment of children, and compulsory education for working children. If the above be true, to the manufacturers of North Carolina belongs the honor of initiating such a wise and beneficent policy among employers. It is rather natural that the people of the South should be opposed to restricting the hours of labor by law, because by tradition and education they are opposed to state interference. The only way to prevent such legislation is for manufacturers throughout the South to adopt the program of their North Carolina brethren. It is not important to laborers which way the shorter day comes; it is only important that it come. In proposing voluntarily to adopt a ten-hour system, North Carolina manufacturers are taking the position of the real leaders of social progress in the South.

OUR EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN CUBA

LEONORA BECK ELLIS

One immediate effect of a protracted and vital warfare in any country, no matter how just the contest, how sublime the principle in which it originates, is to bring upon the stage of national action a tumultuous, often a lawless generation. This could scarcely be otherwise in Cuba, where through half a century the savage fire of one struggle for freedom has only died away to let another flash up from the embers.

Barely thirteen months and a few days had elapsed since Havana's joyous demonstrations on the hauling down of Castile's royal colors to make way for the republican stars and stripes on the ramparts of old Morro and the governor general's palace when an unexpected scene at the Albisu Theatre startled, angered, and momentarily embittered hundreds of Americans, both resident and visiting in that city. Pit, boxes, and galleries were crowded, and, the play being pleasing, the audience was good-humored. At the close there was a spectacular finale, and the flags of many nations were run up seriatim, to be received with cheers and applause. Each one met its bravas and hand-clappings without counter demonstration until the beautiful symbol of our republic made its appearance. The Americans cheered and clapped loudly, a few Cubans joined them without warmth, but above all sounded a spontaneous outburst of hisses, in which boxes kept galleries company while the pit outvied both.

"Cowards and traitors" the Americans cried. But is it so? Do the many incidents of this and similar

kind daily recorded, some more trifling, some apparently more momentous, go to prove that the Cuban nation hates our flag and our people as mean spirits often hate their benefactors? Certainly this sort of proof cannot weigh with thoughtful minds.

But two things clearly indicated by these and kindred demonstrations are, first, that long strife in the island-country has fomented turbulence and pushed it to the front; second, that four centuries of unkind treatment and unfair dealing on the part of Spain towards this child of hers have of necessity bred a suspicion difficult for any guardian to allay, a distrust lasting as her wardship towards all purposes that cannot be marked out by definite time and method limits. Both these results we should put ourselves in the attitude of comprehending, since each constitutes an element of value in the solution of the educational problem which the United States government now finds itself ethically bound to work out in Cuba.

It must be assumed that no man of righteous decisions will deny the existence of our responsibility towards the next generation of Cubans—and this implies our responsibility towards all Cubans of the future—in the matter of their education, mental, moral, civic, spiritual. The present paper is not written to set forth an argument leading up to a point already so well established, but rather to give a short exposition of what has been accomplished in the discharge of this responsibility during the time intervening since the ratification of the Spanish treaty.

In order to comprehend clearly what has been done one must understand first what material there was to work with and how it had been affected by antecedent influences.

The educational system instituted and conducted in Cuba by Spain was far from being a thing that any

mother country could be proud of or any colony grow strong and intelligent under. If one looks at it closely he needs but little additional help from his knowledge of the oppressive taxes imposed upon the island, the revenues tyrannically extorted, the inadequate and unrighteous judiciary it suffered from, the false priesthood that added to the sum of licentiousness instead of holy living, in order to trace unmistakeably the paths by which this people have arrived at the present low plane of productive industry, domestic and civic virtue, intellectual stamina, and spiritual striving. He can no more be surprised that 72 per cent, of the islanders cannot read or write than he is surprised at the statistics of illegitimacy among them, or the ominous prevalence of miscegenation, or the boasted fact that the most admired *tacos* or "swells" of Havana have attained supremacy through their fame as duelists, gamblers, and roués. In fact, he is more inclined to be astonished that 28 per cent. *can* read and write, as he is at first moved to pleasant wonder that the island has bred some illustrious patriots, and that there are homes in Havana, Matanzas, indeed scattered all over Cuba, which shelter virtue, love and unselfishness equal to any in earth's more favored spots.

Von Humboldt's famous educational proposition is not more true than its converse; for whatever is introduced into the schools of a people will surely be wrought into the intrinsic fabric of that people's national existence. Look at the only schools Cuba has known in the three hundred and ninety-nine years that have dragged over her since the planting of her first colony, and see if they were such institutions as would foster courage and honor and truth, industry, temperance, virtue, strenuous moral purposes.

For the girls belonging to the classes that are supposed to have educational needs, there have always

been conventual schools. In these the future women of the nation were shaped by nuns and priests of two classes: those who knew nothing of the world, and those who knew nothing of the world saving its wickedness, to the sum total of which they often contributed incalculably. Yet, upon women whose hearts, characters and intellects were molded by the unnatural forces pent up within these convent walls, has developed for ages the part of rearing those who were to constitute the chief body of citizens of the island.

The boys of the upper classes have had some advantages over their sisters. The provincial institutions have offered fair training for their minds, and Havana University has opened its doors to some 1,400 of them annually. There was no savor of anything Cuban in these institutions: everything was Spanish; all teaching tended towards the ultimate end of setting Spain upon the pinnacle of the world.

Thus much for the more fortunate classes, which include in their ranks comparatively few genuine Cubans, being largely filled with the peninsular and insular Spanish. But what of "the masses," which means here the people themselves?

No need to say that for centuries there was nothing in the way of education set within their reach. But when the spread of intelligence, the general diffusion of knowledge and rapid establishment of schools in other countries had forced hard taskmasters to do something here, a weak and false system of public institutions was tardily built up. A review of this would scarcely prove profitable for the general reading public. It is sufficient to state that Cuban municipalities paid extravagantly for the maintenance of the system, but Spanish school inspectors and boards, Spanish commissioners of education, superintendents, and frequently teachers held all the power and dictated

every item down to the minutest in organization, management, employment of funds, courses of study, standards of scholarship and discipline.

By Spain's Cuban census of 1887, which gave the island a population of 1,631,687, there were 775 public schools in operation. This may or may not be trustworthy. At any rate, in 1890, when the most authoritative educational statistics of the world showed that 23 per cent. of the people of the United States were attending school, by the same showing there were only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of Cuba's population engaged likewise. Yet a lower point was still to be touched,—for an official statement promulgated some time before our occupation of Cuba announced that only 449 public schools were in operation in the whole island, and it is undoubtedly true that most of those were but semblances of schools. Only 4,000 children were in these schools. The instruction given under this system was as inadequate and unsatisfactory as could be expected from such conditions. An investigation of it will reward the student who is seeking to locate the most fatal germ of Spain's decay.

Turning from such a view with the solemnity upon us which it necessarily engenders, we are likely to ask ourselves very sternly if we have done as much better as the conditions and capabilities involved make it meet we should do. We assumed this responsibility with eyes wide open, senses awake to its gravity, mind measuring its far-reachingness. If we have met it weakly, if we are discharging it ineffectually, if we have failed to give Cuba a system of schools—or, more, an adequate system of good schools—if we are neglecting to infuse into those schools the eternal principles which we claim it is our desire to see the national life of the Cubans imbued with, then the shame is undying, the stain upon our national honor ineffaceable.

It will be remembered that the United States took formal possession of the Cuban forts and government buildings on January 1st, 1899. But the final ratification of the treaty with Spain was not accomplished until April 11th following our occupation. In the chaotic state in which matters financial, industrial, municipal, national and individual were found, it was impossible to institute any school reform before the summer holidays were on. In truth, those first few months were quite full enough with dispensing daily bread to 150,000 starvelings whose wretched bodies demanded the earliest care. When September came, the Americans in authority were not unmindful of the schooldays so full of meaning and import; they did not fail to grasp the fact that a generation could slip from neglected childhood into illiterate and probably criminal manhood and womanhood in the brief time required to adjust a few urgent questions of government and finance.

Mr. Alexis E. Frye, a man of experience in the educational world and possessing standards as high as his ability is great, accepted the difficult position of superintendent of the schools of Cuba, and set himself to his arduous task with the zeal and efficiency marking men of his stamp. Yet so great were the obstacles to be surmounted, especially that constituted by the lack of available revenues, that in spite of heroic endeavors December had come, and the eighth month of our complete occupation of the Great Antille and control of its resources was drawing to a close, before the military governor was able to promulgate a decree for the reorganization of the "elementary and superior schools in the island of Cuba," and educational regeneration began to leaven a nation.

The little pamphlet whose authorship Professor Frye can claim, and whose two dozen pages of English and Spanish embody a system destined to shape in

great measure the future fate of the island-nation, is a potential document. The historian and the prophet of education will each grasp it eagerly, finding it rich in significance to their respective provinces. It bears the date December 6, 1899, and presents in the clearest and simplest form the plan upon which public schools were to be provided for, organized and opened, without delay throughout the length and breadth of inhabited Cuba. So effective did this plan prove, so strong and sound was its conception, and its execution so unfaltering, that within two months from the date of its publication I found 2,024 schools opened and in successful operation in Cuba, gathering to their shelter 100,000 children ranging from six to fourteen years of age. A startling proportion of these had never seen the inside of a schoolroom before.

The good work moved swiftly forward, and another month swelled those figures amazingly. A letter from Professor Frye, dated March 14, 1900, says: "Up to the present time there are 3,025 public schools in the island, with over 125,000 children. The growth of the schools has been so rapid and the expense so great that the government has issued an order postponing the opening of more schools. Otherwise, I think the enthusiasm of the start would have carried our numbers up to 4,000 schools with nearly 200,000 children by next June."

Since that time, however, the number of pupils has increased to almost 150,000, and the government, conquering financial difficulties, is setting on foot preparations for opening during the present scholastic year many more schools as conditions may require.

Thus much for numbers. The system itself next calls for our consideration.

It is doubtful if another country can be pointed out in which so much has ever been demanded of a new

educational system as in this little ex-colony of Spain's, now standing unique in the world of nations, being neither bond nor scarcely free. Its system of schools must spring full grown after the briefest prenatal life; this system must be adequate, it must be elastic, capable of marvelous expansion. It must satisfy the wide-mouthed needs of the immediate present, yet remain competent to answer fully to the larger ones of the future. In homely metaphor, it must fit the infant nation to-day and still be a dignified and graceful garb for the adult to-morrow. No time could be spared to the experimental processes, the gradual evolution, the building of new beauty upon old ruins, which other countries, awakening early and starting with the first germs of scholastic systems, have been able to follow out. An unschooled people was to be endowed at once with the educational resources and appliances, the requisites, even the possibilities, which in our own country as in Germany or England have been hardly won through centuries of endeavor, failure, and sterner new endeavor.

One who comprehends the singular case and measures well the difficulties of the task will not be slow to find the points of strength in the system which this little pamphlet so modestly but ably sets forth. Compulsory attendance of pupils will perhaps strike him first; and, ascertaining that all children between the ages of six and fourteen years inclusive must attend school, public or private, provided that public schools are accessible, for not less than thirty weeks in each scholastic year, he recognizes the imperative necessity to which such a measure answers among a people ignorant of the value of education and rendered suspicious by their past of all government benefactions showing no immediate material advantages.

To have provided free schools, however adequate

and excellent, and left attendance voluntary, would have been to leave our educational responsibility in Cuba unmet. The compulsory attendance measure is enforced by suitable fines imposed upon parents and guardians, and is relieved of hardship by proper provisions to meet the case of children physically or mentally defective, and also of those having widowed mothers depending wholly upon them for support. A liberal clause follows it providing for the granting of permission by boards of education to young men and women over fourteen years of age to attend the public schools, either elementary or superior, though it does not need to be said that such attendance is not to be compulsory.

Schools are provided in proportion to the population, each municipality having clearly defined districts; and, when the plan is fully consummated, as we have good reason to conclude it will be in the course of a very short time, every Cuban city or town of over 500 inhabitants will have at least one public school for boys and another of equal grade for girls, or, if the board of education so please, a single school open to both sexes. As many more schools, complete and incomplete, will be distributed over the municipality as the board shall deem necessary.

The sanitation of school buildings and premises, as well as the healthfulness of locations chosen, is much emphasized, while the monthly lectures to teachers stress such points as the daily and hourly guidance of pupils into ways of cleanliness, tidiness, and modesty; and it will not be denied that these lessons are more needed by the islanders now than even spelling, arithmetic and civil government.

The public-school sessions, under the present order, are of some ten months' duration. They open on the second Monday of September, and, with vacations dur-

ing Christmas and Holy week, in addition to such other legal holidays as may from time to time be appointed, continue until the last Friday in June.

The subjects of study in the elementary schools embrace very thorough and well-conducted courses in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, hygiene, music, drawing, nature studies, and languages. The last named is to include Spanish and English, but up to the present moment very little has been accomplished in the teaching of English because of the unreasonable expense involved in securing teachers. However, the normal schools which are being rapidly established, and the summer courses which Professor Frye is taking care to provide for the teachers already employed, will shortly supply this deficiency. The course of study in the superior or high schools is yet to be marked out definitely. The time is scarcely ripe for their organization upon a new basis, and the old provincial institutions can very well continue to supply their places for some sessions to come.

Salaries of teachers range on as liberal a scale as the cramped condition of finances will warrant for the present. Beginning with \$30 per month to assistants, they reach \$60 and even \$75 to regular teachers, with \$10 additional for all who perform the extra duties of principals. Women receive equal pay with men for similar service, and they alone are to be employed in schools for girls, while either women or men may teach in the male schools. With a wise and generous forethought it has been arranged that for some time to come these salaries are to continue during vacations as well as actual school sessions, for the purpose that the teachers shall employ these vacations in attendance upon normal classes, teachers' meetings, or in following other courses of instruction prescribed for them by the superintendent of schools in Cuba. The attendance of

the large body of Cuban teachers on the Harvard summer school last year must be regarded as a gratifying result of so excellent a measure.

Another evidence of discreet liberality not to be overlooked is the free distribution of text-books and all minor supplies. The teachers are made responsible for the care and safe-keeping of this necessary equipment.

It will be asked how the heavy expenditures involved in conducting such a system of schools are to be met by the impoverished municipalities of the island. Another instance of the happy elasticity required in the general scheme is shown here: "Until otherwise decreed, the department of finance of the island of Cuba" is to provide the necessary funds, all extravagance being guarded against by distinct stipulations.

The main points have now been gone over. Minor ones must be left to individual students of the unique conditions. Few will be found who would arraign the United States for failure in any portion of this solemn duty up to the present hour. Without claiming public credit for what private charity and religious societies from our states have already accomplished for the Cubans in an educational way; with but a glance towards the new agricultural schools and training "homes" established by such philanthropic organizations as the "Cuban Orphan Society" of New York; with a bare allusion to the Compostela School and many other industrial and technical institutions created and working towards success through government sanction and assistance; with scarcely a claim as yet for what has been done for civic education by the judiciary and state reform process instituted,—we must stand before the world and be judged in regard to our discharge of this peculiar educational responsibility.

We have not hoped to convert these islanders into

a people of Anglo-Saxon habitudes, forms, and ideals. Their traditions are against success in such an attempt, and their temperaments are with their traditions. Ardent and pleasure-loving, with the inconsequent gayety of the negro and the passionate love and hate of the Indian grafted upon the arrogance, the sentiment, bigotry, and shifting moral purposes of the Latin, their natures would mock such endeavor. But we conscientiously believe our intentions toward the Cubans to be reasonable and attainable as well as unselfish. Fortified by this conviction, we are unafraid to invite the world's scrutiny of our educational processes in the island-country for whose welfare in matters spiritual our responsibility cannot end when we are done with our brief guardianship in matters temporal.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

**The Essential
Thing in Popular
Lectures**

Efforts to interest wage-earning people in educational lectures or regular studies are frequently failures, but usually the cause is not lack of interest on the part of the people. More often by far it is due to the failure to give the people what they can enjoy, assimilate, and make useful to themselves. The free public-lecture system just organized in Brooklyn borough, New York city, in connection with the public-school system, is being conducted with proper recognition of this fact, fortunately; and as a result the attendance of 4,000 at the first week's lectures rose to 8,000 the second week. From the standpoint of the scholar the amount of information offered is rather meager, and there is a surplus of stories and pleasantries, but where the saloon is one of the chief counter attractions something must be provided which will really interest the weary shop-toilers and housekeepers which such lectures are intended to reach. A few suggestive and practical facts, presented in an attractive manner, will be remembered and exert a stimulating influence, while information that exceeds the conscious needs of the people will find no lodgment and serve no helpful purpose.

**A Continuous
Crime**

Everybody who attended the recent public hearings of the tenement-house commission in New York city was made to realize how full of present alarming significance the situation is. As ministers, doctors, nurses, teachers, missionaries and settlement workers came before the commission with their matter-of-fact accounts of filth,

want, disease and crime, it was difficult to realize that there could be anything more than grim irony in the assurance we get from time to time that conditions are really "better than they used to be." The most dispiriting feature of the situation is the fact that there is already a law against nearly every kind of tenement-house evils and abuses that are still reported as rampant. Even in the construction of new buildings this holds true; the experts appointed by the commission to examine new tenements reported that out of 333 such buildings examined 318 contained violations of the law. The amazing fact also came out that, out of nearly 11,000 reports of violations of the building laws sent to buildings department in a year, only four were followed up to the point of imposing a penalty upon the violator. As a sidelight on Tammany Hall's numerous subterranean sources of revenue, the practice of buying exemption from the imposition of penalties for violations of the building laws would be an interesting study in itself. The case is sufficiently clear, in the light of this outrageous 4-out-of-11,000 showing. Officials paid by the city to enforce the laws are the very ones who connive at and profit by its violation. The miserable denizens of sweatshops (*not* suppressed) and vile tenements (*not* brought under the law), victims of tuberculosis (*not* protected against), and of flagrant immorality (*not* restricted) in all the surrounding environment, are the ones who suffer by this abominable system of organized official rascality. The situation is a continuous crime,—but there is one possible contingency that would be an even greater crime, namely: failure on the part of the decent elements in New York city to get together and politically annihilate this cabal of unscrupulous freebooters, beyond hope of resurrection.

Labor and
the Race
Problem

Principal Booker T. Washington's article published in this number is gratifying by reason of the *possibilities* it indicates, in the way of negro advancement through the disciplining and stimulating influence of industrial education. Of course, to regard the case of "The Negro in Business" from Mr. Washington's standpoint, without duly remembering that the overwhelming mass of the colored race is still sunk in ignorance, poverty and degradation, would be to cherish a monumental illusion as to the real status of the whole problem. Because success crowns the efforts of a few brave, able and devoted men, we ought not to delude ourselves with the pleasing notion that they are doing all that is necessary and are able single-handed to elevate the black race to self-respecting, industrious, independent citizenship. One swallow does not make a summer, nor one oasis fertilize a desert.

Mr. Washington's labors are most admirable in purpose, encouraging in results, great in possibilities and full of genuine promise; but his task would be almost hopeless if there were not other forces at work in many quarters tending toward the same ends. He is with the flow of the tide, not the ebb; and by reason of this his efforts have a promise of success that would not exist if the solution of the race problem depended wholly on what such institutions as Tuskegee can do.

The entrance of the modern factory system and labor organization into the South is one of the strongest forces that may be expected, in cooperation with efforts like Mr. Washington's, to bring about the slow elevation of this unfortunate race. The community of interest developed through organized labor is already striking heavy blows at the dead-line of color prejudice which bars the negro's industrial advance in the South. For example, at the convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor last December, in Louisville, President Gompers made this declaration :

"Realizing the necessity for the unity of the wage-earners of our country, the American Federation of Labor has upon all occasions declared that trades unions should open their portals to all wage-workers, irrespective of creed, color, nationality, or politics. In making the declaration we have, we do not necessarily proclaim that the social barriers existing between the whites and blacks could or should be felled with one stroke of the pen; but when white and black workers are compelled to work side by side under the same adverse circumstances and under equally unfair conditions, it seems an anomaly that we should refuse to accord the right of an organization to workers because of a difference in their color."

This frank statement only confirms in another way what we have often said in these pages, that the solution of the race problem in the South will come, when it does come, through the forces and influences centering around industrial life, rather than by sentimental oratory or arbitrary legislation or even by common-school education. When white men and colored men can be brought to work in harmony and close cooperation, because of a real community of interests; when conditions are such that they must stand or fall together with respect to the most vital problem of all—the getting of a living—the lesser considerations of prejudice, animosity and distrust will disappear. This point reached, recognition of the broad equality of human rights will extend out from the industrial into other departments of life. Social intermingling may never come, but there will be mutual respect, and the social segregation will be for the same kind of natural reasons that already separate white people into innumerable social groups; it will no longer be due to any brutal classification of the colored race as an inferior order of beings just because their turn to rise out of savagery came a little later in history than our own.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Sound Economics in a Great Labor Organization

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

Dear Sir:—I have noted with considerable satisfaction the attention you have been giving to the progress of the labor movement, for I am fully aware that your publication will reach many persons who have very little idea of what the labor movement, represented by labor organization, really means.

The *Railroad Trainmen's Journal* for December and January gives briefly something of what has been done in the past year by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and I take the liberty of sending you marked copies, thinking the statements might be of interest to you.

If at any time you care to know anything of our plan of organization, its insurance and protective features, etc., I will be pleased to furnish you with any information pertaining to the Brotherhood you may desire, for our business is an open book and we feel that it will be to our advantage to have the public understand what our organization really means and how far into practice it has carried its theories.

I will also take this opportunity to use from time to time articles that appear in your Magazine, giving you due credit and promising to not abuse the privilege. You have many thoughts that come from an apparently unbiased source, and there is much in your publication that I would be more than glad to have the members of our organization read. Our greatest ambition is to educate them along the exact lines as laid down in your "Prosperity and Education." We appreciate the fact that labor can make mistakes and overreach as easily as capital can, and we use our every endeavor to educate them along the lines of real social and economic truth. That we make slow progress is not to be wondered, when everything is taken into consideration, but that we are progressing stands in evidence. Your publication stands between capital and labor and I feel makes every effort to be fair to both, something that cannot in justice always be said of the publications of both capital and labor. The tendency to judge by immediate necessities and prejudices, generally born in a lack of knowledge of true conditions, is responsible for a great deal of the trouble that we hear so much of between the two classes. If we knew more of each other we would profit, I am sure of it.

D. L. CEASE, Editor *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, Cleveland, Ohio.

QUESTION BOX

Corruption versus Education

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read with much interest one of Professor Gunton's recent lectures on the need of more education on economic subjects, for the sake of political safety. He seemed to imply that the last two elections had to be won by the corrupt use of money, but it seems to me the masses are more intelligent than he gives them credit for. They have buried Bryanism twice, and the last time worse than the first. P. N. J.

The implication intended in the lecture referred to was that more or less use of money had been regularly relied upon in our elections. Undoubtedly it was used to some extent in 1896, but it was used very much less in the last election. Nor does this imply that we do not give the masses credit for intelligence. The American people are the most intelligent of any on the face of the earth, but they are not educated on economic questions to anything like the extent that our highly sensitive and complex conditions require. In 1892 the appeal to the anti-capital sentiment succeeded in inducing the masses to vote for the the overthrow of our national industrial policy, chiefly as a punishment to capital. That appeal to class prejudice, it is fair to say, laid the foundation for much of the ill-feeling which now exists, but the withering effect of the 1892 election was so swift and fierce that the people realized their mistake. The punishment lasted down until 1896, when the effect of hard times led a very large number to accept Bryan's debased-money doctrine. That questionable use of money was resorted to in that election will not seriously be disputed. The case was desperate and the

methods used were equally so, but in the election of 1900 there was very little of this. Yet the result showed that more than six million voters still cling to the cheap-money and populistic theories represented by Bryan. The one thing which more than all else prevented a still larger number from supporting Bryan's theories was the temporary fact that their dinner-pails were full. They were living in a period of great prosperity and had not altogether forgotten the experiment of '92. But, let a national election come in the midst of industrial depression and we shall see the effect of revolutionary doctrines and the general economic misinformation or lack of sound education among the masses. From such a catastrophe only a broader educational movement on permanent and systematic lines can save us.

The Giant Steel Combination

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What do you think of this billion-dollar steel combination? You have been telling us that the limit of "trust" organization was nearly reached, but this does not look like it. What protection is the consumer to have when the whole steel industry of the country is united in one concern?

M. P. A.

It is difficult to tell exactly what will be the outcome of this billion-dollar combination. The very statement makes one dizzy. There is surely a limit to the extent to which economy can be secured by increasing the size of industrial organization. In this direction as in all others there is a limit which economists call the point of diminishing returns; that is to say, a point where the waste from unwieldiness more than equals the economy from aggregation. When this

point is reached there is nothing further for capitalists to gain by combination except it be in the hope of securing a monopoly and then arbitrarily increasing prices. Whether this billion-dollar steel combination has reached the point of diminishing returns can only be determined by experience. If such be the case, and the promoters of the scheme hope to secure a monopoly for the purpose of raising the price to the consumers, they are surely making a fatal mistake, a mistake that may bring cyclonic disaster.

The consumer, for whom our correspondent is concerned, is in very little danger in this direction provided the government will see to it that the gates of potential competition are kept well ajar. In the first place, if the combination does not really give any economy in production it cannot keep out competitors, because at the present basis of cost there are many small concerns that can keep in business at fair profits. If it attempts to reap a harvest by putting up the price on the strength of having a practical monopoly, then new enterprises will at once come into existence because of the largeness of the margin. If in this effort it should put the price materially above the price abroad, the people will promptly demand the removal of all protection and thus let in the full force of foreign competition. So that, in reality, there is no great danger to the consumer, since there are at least three potent forces that stand ready to go to his assistance, but there is great danger to the investors in this colossal scheme if it is not based on a sound economic foundation.

Socialistic Taxation

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Governor Odell may be aiming to simplify taxation, but what justice is there in abolishing

the state general property tax and putting the whole burden on a few special corporate interests? Is not this, in effect at least, adopting the principle of sliding-scale progressive taxation, making the burden heavier, not only actually but relatively, for large property than for small?

S. P.

In his scheme of taxation Governor Odell appears to be trying to accomplish what was aimed at in the mortgage-tax bill of last year: namely, to separate state from local taxation, but he is evidently surrounded by some poor advisers. He appears not to have very closely considered the effects of his taxing scheme, or else he is entering upon a reckless policy to tax corporations for the purpose of popular applause, especially among those who know the least about the incidence of taxes.

For instance; the tax on the surplus of the savings-banks is a direct blow at the security of savings-banks. The surplus is carried with the view of making the savings-bank safe against emergency, but if that surplus is to be made the special object of taxation it will naturally have the effect of making savings-banks carry as small a surplus as possible, and thus weaken the security of the millions of small depositors.

The special tax on the capital stock of corporations proposed by this bill is no less extraordinary. It would amount to a tax in some cases of from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of the income from investments. The purpose of the law, as announced, is to lift the burden from real estate and put it upon personal property, which is the very worst kind of "reform" in taxation that could be undertaken. If we are to have any change in the principle of taxation—and there is indeed plenty of need of it—it should be in the opposite direction. It is agreed by all investigators a

students of taxation that a personal tax is the worst method of collecting public revenues. The tendency of tax reform should be to simplify taxation, but simplify it in the direction of levying taxes upon property which cannot be concealed or seriously misrepresented.

There are many ways of separating state from city taxes without having recourse to the demagogic method of levying special taxes on corporations in order to secure the applause of the socialistic sentiment against wealth. One of the numerous proposals already suggested is to levy a tax, exclusively for state purposes, on cities, counties, etc., in proportion to the aggregate amount of their own revenue collected. This would be simple, it would be separate, and it would make every taxing body in the state contribute to the expenses of the state in proportion as they collected for local purposes. This may not be a very scientific proposition, but it is far better than any of the schemes for singling out special interests for exceptional taxation.

New York Labor Laws

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR:—Will you please tell us what is the New York law as to hours of labor? What is a legal day's work?

C. H. D.

The New York law on the hours of labor, amended in 1899, in reference to the employment of women, and minors under the age of 18, is that no such person shall be employed more than ten hours a day or more than sixty hours a week. If employed more than ten hours in any one day it must be offset by a shorter day during the same week. This permits the working of ten and a half or eleven hours, so as to have a shorter day on Saturday; but even in this arrangement the working time must not begin before six in the morning nor con-

tinue after nine in the evening, in any day. This act came into force April 1st, 1899, and is enforced by penalties for its violation, of fine or imprisonment or both.

The last act on the subject of a legal day's work was also passed in 1899, and provides that: "Eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work for all classes of employees in this state, except those engaged in farm and domestic service, unless otherwise provided by law."

The intention of this act was to make eight hours the standard for a day's work in the absence of any special contract, so that, if a person is engaged to work without any special arrangement, eight hours will count as a day's work, and any additional hours in the same day will count as overtime and can be collected for in addition. But the court has interpreted this to mean exactly the reverse: namely, that it gives the laborer a legal right to contract that his day's work shall be only eight hours, but if he works without special contract all the work he performs within a calendar day is included in the day's work. This decision is an obvious wrenching of the plain meaning. It is little short of silly, since anybody, regardless of this or any other statute, has a right to make a contract that his hours of labor shall be any number the parties may agree upon. It needs no law to enable an American citizen to agree to work two hours a day if his employer will consent. The obvious intention of the law was to give a legal presumption in favor of the eight-hour-day and make a special contract necessary for a longer day. Courts are sometimes very mortal.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ECONOMICS OF DISTRIBUTION. By John A. Hobson. Cloth, 361 pages, \$1.25. No index. The Macmillan Company.

This is one of the very excellently written books in the "Citizen's Library" series, edited by Professor Ely. Like everything Mr. Hobson writes, the present volume shows evidence of close application not merely to economic literature but to economic principles. The author undertakes to present a close discussion of the theory of economic distribution, and one of the special claims to originality he puts forth is that he has discovered a "fundamentally erroneous" element in the doctrine that "rent does not enter into the expenses of production."

As the author announces in the preface, the book is chiefly made up of lectures previously delivered and articles published in current periodicals. In reality, Mr. Hobson began his discussion of this subject in an article in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for April, 1891, on "The Law of the Three Rents." The purpose of that article was to reduce the income from labor, land and capital all to forms of rent; interest and profits as the rent of capital, wages as the rent of labor, and the income from land as the rent of land; the reason for calling each kind of income by the same name being that they are of the same economic character, defined and determined by the same economic law.

The present book is somewhat of a further elaboration of this idea. In the opening paragraph of the article on "The Law of the Three Rents," Mr. Hobson

said: "The law of rent is perhaps only a law in the sense that it provides an exceedingly convenient rule of measurement for fluctuations in the value of land. It is strange that writers like General Walker and Mr. Gunton, who have rigidly applied this law to profits, should have failed to see that it is equally applicable to the other participants of the net product."

The position that "General Walker and Mr. Gunton" have taken in regard to profits is that the marginal capital in any given industry in the same competing market works without profit, and that the profit of competing capital is determined by the degree to which it can produce more cheaply than the marginal or least productive capital in use. This principle was rigidly applied by both these writers to land and by Mr. Gunton to interest also. Instead of Mr. Hobson applying this principle to all the factors as here suggested, he objects that it even apply to land.

The essence of this doctrine is that the surplus income in the form of interest, profits and rents does not enter into price. The special contribution Mr. Hobson claims to have made is that even rent enters into price. This is such a definite challenge to the most generally accepted doctrine in economics that one eagerly turns to his discussion of this topic.

An examination of his reasoning, however, is disappointing. The Ricardian theory, that rent is the difference in the different degrees of productivity of competing tracts of land, always implied that people would have recourse to still poorer lands, which at existing prices of products would not pay for cultivation. In order to make his point that rent would become a part of necessary cost and hence enter into the price of products, Mr. Hobson supposes a case in which all the available land has already been brought into use, no substitutes are available, and no improve-

ments in the land already in use can render the poorest tract unnecessary. In that case the owner of the poorest land, which, for a given unit of product, requires the greatest outlay of capital and labor, would command a rent and this minimum rent would become a part of the cost and hence of the price of all products.

No Ricardian would dispute that for a moment. It involves not the slightest change in the theory of rent as formulated by Ricardo and as repeated and restated by his unbroken line of followers. There is really nothing new in the abstract theory of this contention; it simply assumes that all land on the earth, usable for a given purpose, has been called into use, a condition which has never existed in fact and is not likely to for an indefinite time to come. Yet in the abstract theory it is supposable, and in such a supposable case the rent (that is, the amount of rent that this least productive, or most expensive, increment would yield) would be added to price. If the conditions here supposed should ever actually exist, this most expensive increment might not be the poorest, it might even be the most productive, but it might also be so far removed from the market that the transportation or other expenses involved by the distance would make it the dearest portion. But, as already remarked, this can scarcely be regarded as a contribution to economic theory. At least it cannot be regarded as the correction of "erroneous doctrine," for it corrects no error, it simply shows that under certain imaginary or supposable conditions a slight increment of rent might be added to prices, but even this would take place by the logical operation of the Ricardian law.

In dealing with the question of wages, however, Mr. Hobson is less fortunate. He proceeds upon the assumption that the standard of wages in a competing group of laborers is determined by the least efficient

laborers; that in the group the law of value applies to everything that is bought and sold, whether labor or commodities, alike. But there is this fundamental difference between the effect upon prices of the income from labor and the income from land and capital. In the case of capital there is, in every well-established industry, a great difference in the productivity of different competing concerns. This may be due to geographical situation, wisdom of management, condition of machinery or many other causes, but in all such competing groups there is some capital which yields no profits while its competitors receive a profit just in proportion as their production per unit of expenditure is greater. According to this, therefore, profit does not enter into the price, and the same is true of land, at least until Mr. Hobson's supposable case arises, and even then none of the rent except that of the final increment would enter into the price of the commodities.

In the case of labor no such condition exists, because there is no group of laborers who work for nothing, not even under slavery, for even there the laborer must receive the amount of his living. So that, while there is a great deal of no-rent land and no-interest capital in use, there is nowhere any no-wage labor. All wages are a part of the cost of production.

In reality, therefore, the doctrine of three rents, or the theory that the income from capital, land and labor are all of the same economic character, is not correct. Any economic teaching based upon such a conclusion is not merely misleading in theory but is apt to be very injurious in fact, because it gives a mistaken point of view from which to treat the economic problems in society. Economic theory is of little scientific utility, except perhaps as furnishing exercise in mental gymnastics, unless it really aids useful public policy.

ELEMENTARY PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. An Outline of Physiography. By Jacques W. Redway, F. R. G. S. Cloth, 12mo, 383 pages, \$1.25. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York and Chicago.

Mr. Redway's contributions to physiographic science are so well known and their merits so fully recognized that this latest work comes to us with the presumption already strongly in its favor. As a specimen of bookmaking alone it is worth special commendation. The cover is particularly attractive, the paper of fine quality and the typographical work excellent. The book is a 12mo, of 383 pages, and in this respect, therefore, is one more step in the rapid abandonment of the old-style cumbersome quartos which, by some venerable superstition, have heretofore been regarded as absolutely essential to any proper comprehension of geography. The small size seems not to interfere with the pictorial feature, the illustrations in this book being abundant and clear: besides numerous half-tones there are several colored maps and charts.

The volume is intended for use in the junior grades of high schools, and in normal schools, and many useful features are introduced to aid the teacher. We suspect, however, that the teachers who have time and enthusiasm enough to "get in close touch with the United States Geological Survey and the Weather Bureau," as a part of their work in this subject, will be amazingly few in number. This implies a degree of thoroughness hardly to be expected from any instructors of less limited time and facilities than are afforded in the colleges. Nevertheless, Mr. Redway's book is in itself so comprehensive that the teacher using it ought to be able to do ample justice to the subject, at least within the necessary limits of high-school and normal-school work.

The author is strongly impressed with the impor-

tance of geographical environment in determining the industrial and social conditions of mankind. He has an abundance of interesting and suggestive data in support of this view, proper appreciation of which is of course essential to any clear comprehension of history. No discussion of this general topic can be entirely adequate, however, which does not more fully take into consideration the enormous influence of science, invention, transportation, and intelligent societary regulation, as forces modifying and sometimes even nullifying the local limitations of geographic environment. In the early days of the race, and in crude society wherever it still remains, man was and is controlled and shaped by nature, but human progress is the record of his steadily augmenting control over nature, throwing off little by little the shackles of time, place and natural barriers. turning infertility into fertility, and building up diversification of industry, for social and political reasons, which economic or geographic conditions alone would not have accomplished for generations or even centuries.

Nor is any discussion of this matter wholly complete which omits to consider those dynamic psychological, religious and moral forces which, in cooperation with social, political, economic and geographic influences, have wrought the progressive transformation of the face of society throughout the ages. It is only natural, however, that a work devoted strictly to physiography should emphasize physiographical influences and not extend out into general discussion of the philosophy of history. This book conveys the unmistakable impression of very wide individual research, scientific classification of data, and systematic development of the subject in accordance with sound pedagogical principles. It ought to have a generous reception.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Democracy and Social Ethics. By Jane Addams, head of "Hull House," Chicago, joint author of "Philanthropy and Social Progress." Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Limits of Evolution. And other Essays in Philosophy, Illustrating the Metaphysical Theory of Personal Idealism. By G. H. Howison, LL.D., Mills professor of philosophy in the University of California. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Life and Letters of Thomas H. Huxley. By his son, Leonard Huxley. Cloth, 2 vols., 8vo, 549 + 547 pp., \$5, net. D. Appleton and Company, New York. With eight photogravures and several other illustrations.

The Private Life of King Edward VII. (Prince of Wales, 1841-1901). By a Member of the Royal Household. Uniform with "The Private Life of the Queen." Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Illustrated.

China: Travels and Investigations in the Middle Kingdom—A Study of Its Civilization and Possibilities. Together with an Account of the Boxer War, the Relief of the Legations and the Reestablishment of Peace. By James Harrison Wilson, A.M., LL.D. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.75. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Third edition, revised throughout, enlarged and reset.

An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England. By Edward P. Cheney, A.M., professor of European history in the University of Pennsylvania. Cloth, crown 8vo. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Social Control. A Survey of the Foundations of Order. By Edgar Alsworth Ross, Ph.D. Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Custom and Competition. By Richard T. Ely, LL.D., author of "Monopolies and Trusts." Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Company, New York.

American Municipal Progress. By Charles Zueblin, B.D., associate professor of sociology in the University of Chicago. Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Company, New York.

An Essay on Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects (Medieval and Modern Times). By W. Cunningham, D.D., Hon. LL.D. Cloth, 12mo, 300 pp., \$1.25 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The French Monarchy (1483-1789). By A. J. Grant, M.A., of King's College, Cambridge. Cloth, 2 vols., 12mo, 311 + 314 pp., \$2.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The American Negro. What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become. By William Hannibal Thomas. Cloth, 8vo, gilt top, 440 pp., \$2. The Macmillan Company, New York. A critical and practical discussion.

The Rulers of the South, Sicily, Calabria and Malta. By F. Marion Crawford, author of "Ave Roma Immortalis," "Via Crucis," etc. 2 vols., crown 8vo, \$6 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Law and Policy of Annexation. With Special Reference to the Philippines; together with Observations on the Status of Cuba. By Carmen F. Randolph of the New York bar, author of "The Law of Eminent Domain." Cloth, 219 pp. Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, London and Bombay.

The Destruction of Ancient Rome. A Sketch of the History of the Monuments. By Rudolfo Lanciana, D.C.L., professor of ancient topography in the University of Rome. Cloth, gilt tops, 12mo, \$2. The Macmillan Company, New York.

FROM FEBRUARY MAGAZINES

"The queen . . . had the strongest prejudices against public men with whom she differed in politics; and, though she was far too constitutional a queen ever to allow her feelings to interfere with public business, she had her likes and dislikes strongly defined. Her favorite prime ministers were Lord Melbourne, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. She never was on easy terms with Mr. Gladstone or any of the liberal party, except, perhaps, Lord Rosebery, at the beginning of his administration. As to Mr. Chamberlain, she had long a great fear that he would prove a dangerous factor in English politics; but, when the question of the union broke up the liberal party, she showed in the most unmistakable manner her approbation of the liberal unionist leaders. On the occasion of the opening of the Imperial Institute, it was remarked by every one that she placed strong emphasis on the words, 'the union of my empire.' It was always said that Lord Beaconsfield, who was a thorough courtier, gained his influence over her by giving way to her opinions on nearly every point, or, at any rate, by persuading her that he did so. . . . Her affection for him, at any rate, was very deep and sincere, and she mourned for him not only on national, but personal grounds."—LADY JEUNE, in "Victoria and Her Reign;" *North American Review*.

"Here and there, dotted about where circumstances and conditions have caused their growth, are found the slums. They used to be plague-spots, and, in a sense, they are so still; but of late years they are much improved. To find the real old slum, the foul, indescribable pigsty, one must not look for it in East London. It lingers, here and there, on the south of the Thames. Any of the medical students of Guy's Hospi-

tal, who have to attend the sick in the courts of Southwark, will lead you readily to such a slum; but in East London itself I should find it difficult to take you to places such as I remember, twenty years ago, to have looked into, shuddering. Therefore, if you read novels of the day describing things brutal and horrible beyond endurance, you should regard these descriptions with suspicion. If they are true, they belong to the past, and exist no longer save in rare and very exceptional cases, and then against the voice of public opinion in their quarter."—SIR WALTER BESANT, in "The Helping Hand in East London;" *The Century*.

"Speaking particularly of the American attitude on this question, it is held that any plan which prohibits recourse to the strike, when all other efforts at adjustment fail, must by that fact destroy the power necessary to the efficiency of the trade union. Organization among the workers, while tending to lessen the number of strikes by preventing or remedying those grievances which inevitably induce strikes, is possible only where the power to strike is held in reserve. Indeed, compulsory arbitration as practised in New Zealand makes the trade union superfluous for all real good. Under that law, any seven men or women workers, organized or registered in the prescribed manner, can accomplish as much, in the final event, as any greater number. An organization of a thousand workers exercises a proportionate influence upon the conditions of their calling, provided always that they retain the power to enforce their demands by refusing to work until these are granted. The power of united numbers, consisting as it does in the power correspondingly to affect production, becomes *nil* when the power to cease producing is lost."—WALTER MACARTHUR, in "American Trade Unions and Compulsory Arbitration;" *The Forum*.



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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The "Second Term" in American Politics It has been twenty-seven years since a president was inaugurated in this country for a second consecutive term. During this period Mr. Cleveland has held the office twice, but not twice in succession. The reelection and second inauguration of President McKinley draws attention to the gradual change in the character of the considerations that have determined the election of presidents, especially second-term elections, since the early days of the republic. After Washington, for a quarter of a century the second term was regarded practically as a matter of course, demanded by courtesy and precedent and enforced by the desirability of keeping experienced men in office,—a sentiment which unfortunately has grown weaker with the spread of the spoils system and "rotation in office" idea. By the time of Jackson the personality of the man had begun to count for more than tradition. Jackson himself was largely instrumental in bringing about rotation in office as a recognized practice in the government, and owed his own second term chiefly to his extraordinary personal popularity. This is further evidenced by the fact that from Jackson to Lincoln no man of really commanding personality occupied the presidency, and no one was chosen for a second term. Lincoln's reelection was partly due to his personal popularity but more largely to the war issues which absorbed the nation. Grant's second term was almost

entirely the reflection of his individual hold on the people.

In recent years, however, the determining factors have been much more largely the issues at stake than the personality of the candidates. Mr. Harrison was little known when he first became a presidential candidate, but he won chiefly on the tariff issue, and a reversal of popular sentiment on the same subject, coupled with a growing hostility to capitalistic interests, carried Mr. Cleveland back into office four years later. The issues more than the men were the real storm centers, and in the reelection of Mr. McKinley we have this tendency carried almost to the extreme limit,—a man of very lukewarm popularity continued in power by an overwhelming vote because of the issues he represented. In reality it was not William McKinley who triumphed last fall, but the three-fold cause of sound money, business stability and what was believed to be the safer of two proposed foreign policies.

President	As if there seemed to be some need of
McKinley's	emphasizing the president's personality
Inaugural	in the midst of the great issues that over-

shadow him, the inauguration ceremonies of March 4th were arranged on an elaborate scale, quite surpassing any previous occasions of the kind in spectacular effect. The inauguration address had the merit of brevity, and on the whole breadth of sentiment. Although seldom noteworthy for any strong original statement of policy, Mr. McKinley's public papers are always marked by able and ingenious defence of courses already pursued. His references in this second inaugural to the business prosperity and successful outcome of the Spanish war, during his first administration, were brief and entirely justified by the facts, and the spirit of national rather than party obligation in the

discharge of presidential duties was prominent throughout. Indeed, so far as its sentiments are concerned, there is no particular criticism to be made on the inaugural. Criticism begins when we compare some of these sentiments and statements of facts with recent and perfectly familiar experience.

**Nature of the
Philippine
Warfare**

Take, for example, the president's declaration with reference to the nature and extent of the Philippine insurrection, alongside of which we reprint an extract from General MacArthur's report of October 1st last:

President McKinley's Inaugural

"Our countrymen should not be deceived. We are not waging war against the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. A portion of them are making war against the United States. By far the greater part of the inhabitants recognize American sovereignty, and welcome it as a guarantee of order and security for life, property, liberty, freedom of conscience and the pursuit of happiness. To them full protection will be given. They shall not be abandoned. We will not leave the destiny of the loyal millions in the islands to the disloyal thousands who are in rebellion against the United States. Order under civil institutions will come as soon as those who now break the peace shall keep it. Force will not be needed or used when those who make war against us shall make it no more."

General MacArthur's Report

"The success of this unique system of war depends upon almost complete unity of action of the entire native population. That such unity is a fact is too obvious to admit of discussion; how it is brought about and maintained is not so plain. Intimidation has undoubtedly accomplished much to this end, but fear as the only motive is hardly sufficient to account for the united and spontaneous action of several millions of people. One traitor in each town would eventually destroy such a complex organization. It is more probable that the adhesive principle comes from ethnological homogeneity, which induces men to respond for a time to the appeals of consanguineous leadership even when such action is opposed to their own interests and convictions of expediency. These remarks apply with equal force to the entire archipelago, excepting only that part of Mindanao occupied by Moros, and to the Jolo group."

General MacArthur is, of course, our chief military officer in the Philippines. Comment on the above is unnecessary, unless it be on the grim humor of the suggestion that "force will not be needed or used when those who make war against us shall make it no more." This exactly reverses the facts, for it is well established that the complete change in our own attitude in the Philippines during the summer of 1898 is what really led to the break with the natives. If we had applied our Cuban policy in the islands, as the Filipinos at first believed we would do, we should undoubtedly have had their continued cooperation instead of hostility.

**Cuban Inde-
pendence**

Again, with reference to Cuba: the president in his inaugural declared that our consistent purpose had been and was "the establishment of a free and independent government prepared to assume and perform the obligations of international law," and that the new Cuban institutions "should be adapted to secure a government capable of performing the duties and discharging the functions of a separate nation."

Just previous to this, the senate, reflecting the wishes of the administration, had adopted as an amendment to the army appropriation bill a series of conditions upon which the president would be authorized to withdraw American troops from Cuba and leave the island to itself. These, in substance, are as follows:

(1) That Cuba must never make any treaty with a foreign power tending to impair Cuban independence or permit such power to obtain lodgment in or control over any part of the island.

(2) That Cuba must not contract any public debt beyond the capacity of the island's revenues to sustain.

(3) That the United States shall have the right to intervene to preserve Cuban independence and maintain a government capable of protecting life, property and liberty.

(4) That all acts of the United States in Cuba up to date shall be

ratified and all American rights thus far acquired in the island maintained and protected.

(5) That Cuba must continue to carry out all our plans for the sanitation of cities throughout the island.

(6) That the Isle of Pines shall not be regarded as a Cuban possession.

(7) That Cuba must sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling and naval stations.

Whatever name may be given to this arrangement, it amounts simply to a protectorate of the United States over Cuba. The island will neither have a "free and independent government" nor be "a separate nation." Control of public finances, foreign relations and internal government constitute practically all the functions of an independent state, and in each of these particulars the United States either expressly declares what shall and shall not be done or else demands the perpetual right of intervention. In other words, we shall exercise a "suzerainty" over Cuba many times more complete and definite than England pretended to claim over the Transvaal from 1881 to 1899. Perhaps all this may be very necessary, but if Cuba is so thoroughly unfit for independence why does not the president frankly say so and tell the country why we are thus obliged to take the island into perpetual wardship? If experience has proved that this is after all our highest duty, why keep up the pretence of calling Cuba a "separate nation" under a "free and independent government?"

**The Danger
of Annexation**

The Cuban convention had adopted a constitution before the passage of this declaration of policy by the United States senate, and the draft of the document was signed by the delegates on February 21st. The convention is still in session, debating the details of our demands, and from the present outlook it will yield to unwelcome

necessity and accept the conditions for the sake of getting the form and machinery at least of an independent government.

It is true that we assumed a certain moral responsibility for the future of Cuba, and that if the Cubans cannot govern themselves without our help and control then interference will be justified for some time to come at least. But there is no reason for assuming that the Cubans need any such wholesale permanent supervision, any more than do the various South American republics. We have never felt called upon to manage or interfere with these countries, further than to draw the line of the Monroe doctrine around them, which has proved an entirely sufficient "regulation" of their foreign relations and would be equally effective in the case of Cuba. We have acted toward our neighboring republics on the double theory that we have problems enough of our own to absorb all our best energy and statesmanship, and that other countries will develop real capacity for self-government faster by being left practically on their own responsibility than if they are saved from the consequences of every mistake by the strong arm of a paternal "protector." The same principle of political evolution is quite as applicable to Cuba, for Cuba's own sake, while from the point of view of our own interests it is exceedingly important just now to minimize whatever steps seem to head in the direction of annexation. If the senate declarations were to lie quiescent as containing merely a reservation of power to interfere in extreme cases, they might prove practically harmless, but in the light of our present Philippine policy there is every reason to expect that we shall proceed to exercise a very real and effective kind of intervention in Cuba's affairs, until this course has become so familiar that annexation can be urged as the natural and easy next step.

This is really the chief danger in the senate declarations. It is the phase of the situation to which public sentiment should be most keenly alive. The quality of American citizenship, upon which depends the safety and success of our democratic institutions, is already sufficiently threatened by the city-slum and immigrations problems, still more by the negro problem in the South, and bids fair to be further complicated before very long by the admission of Hawaii and perhaps Porto Rico as states. In each case it is a problem of alien and dissimilar races that has put and is putting the most severe strain upon our democratic experiment, and to bring in Cuba and later on the Philippines would probably insure us a complete setback if not failure. These various groups may be able to carry on independent governments of their own, adapted to their own conditions, but, forced into an unnatural combination with Anglo-Saxons on a plane of political equality, the result can only be arrest of our progress or suspension of the democratic principle in our institutions by providing different forms of government for each different group, thus returning practically to the methods of monarchy.

**War Tax
Reduction**

One of the last acts of the 56th congress was the passage of a bill to reduce the internal revenue taxes imposed on account of the war with Spain. The conference report adopted by both houses on February 28th is expected to reduce the revenues of the government by some \$42,000,000 per year, the largest single item in which is about \$10,000,000 on the beer tax, next about \$7,000,000 on tobacco and snuff, the same amount on bank checks, some \$4,500,000 on cigars and cigarettes, \$4,000,000 on proprietary medicines, etc., \$3,500,000 on promissory notes, and so on. The reduction in the beer

tax is 25 cents per barrel instead of 35 cents as first proposed, the change being due probably to a strong popular impression that the brewing interests were much too effectively in evidence in the congressional lobbies.

It is cause for public congratulation that the guiding rule seems to have been to remove those taxes which have proved most offensive in the daily transactions of the masses of the people, and retain those that could be borne with least inconvenience and petty annoyance. For example, the two-cent stamp on bank checks, of which the people have grown utterly weary, will be a thing of the past after June 30th next, when most of the other reductions go into effect. The tax on promissory notes disappears at the same time, as well as that on money orders, express receipts, telephone and telegraph messages, insurance policies, leases, warehouse receipts, etc. These taxes are entirely repealed, while the chief reductions without complete repeal are in the taxes on beer, tobacco, cigars, foreign bills of exchange, legacies, etc. The principal taxes retained are those on bankers' capital and surplus, stockbrokers and pawnbrokers, theaters, circuses, manufacturers and dealers in tobacco, certificates of stock, wines, oil and sugar refineries, mixed flour, tea, etc. It is expected that the taxes retained will just about enable the government to meet the increased scale of expenditures to be made necessary by the new army and navy appropriations, but in case of a business depression it would be necessary to draw on the treasury surplus and eventually probably to reimpose some of the taxes now removed.

**Tariff
Complication
with Russia**

The needless excitement over a possible tariff war with Russia is rapidly dwindling, as the facts in the case and relatively trivial proportions of the trade involved become more clearly understood. The substance of the case is

simply this: under the Dingley tariff law the secretary of the treasury is required to impose an extra duty on sugar coming from any countries which pay a bounty on the export of sugar to the United States, and under this law additional duties have been regularly assessed on sugar imported from Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and certain other sugar-exporting countries. A duty of this kind was also assessed on Russian sugar until May, 1900, when it was temporarily suspended pending an investigation as to whether Russia really paid an export bounty. After nine months it was decided that Russia did practically pay such a bounty and therefore, on February 14th, Secretary Gage ordered the reimposition of the "countervailing" duty, based on the net amount of such bounties. This increased the duty on Russian sugar by almost one cent a pound.

There is nothing new or unprecedented in the secretary's action. It simply restores a duty which it is found ought to be paid, and not to impose which would be justly regarded by Germany, France and the other countries interested as an unfair discrimination in favor of Russian sugar. Since Russia does pay this export bounty, there is absolutely no reason why it should be relieved from the same extra duty that is paid by other countries on their bounty-assisted exports.

The Russian minister of finance, M. De Witte, seems to have imagined, however, that he can force a special concession from the United States by imposing a retaliatory duty on American iron and steel products. Whether he will literally do this as a permanent policy is still uncertain, but it is this prospective retaliation that has aroused all the discussion and needless alarm here in the United States. It appears, taking the most liberal Russian estimates of American imports of iron and steel, whether coming directly or indirectly, that

we do not send Russia more than \$5,000,000 worth per year, while that going direct to Russia and paying the Russian import duty as American products is less than \$4,000,000 worth per year. Since a good part of these exports are for the Russian government itself, in building the Siberian railroad, and since Russia's sugar exports to this country amount to only a few hundred thousand dollars per year, M. De Witte's policy will cost the Russians a very material advantage and gain them nothing in return. As for the loss to American iron and steel exporters, it is altogether trivial compared with the possible loss that might come from commercial unfriendliness with such a country as Germany, which buys from us fifteen to twenty times as much as Russia purchases. That this trade would be seriously injured is altogether probable if we should make a special exception on the sugar duty in favor of Russia. It is to be hoped that the whole controversy will drop into the oblivion which it thoroughly deserves by its very unimportance.

**Russia in
Manchuria**

Russia is a much more serious object of concern in the far East, however. During the whole period of the disturbances in central China last summer and the occupation of Peking by the powers, Russia was carrying on a war of its own in Manchuria, along the line of the Siberian railroad and along the Manchurian-Siberian frontier. Chinese troops invaded Russian territory, and were not only driven back but were followed throughout Manchuria until Russian military posts practically covered the province. It now appears that the Russians have been arranging with the local Chinese authorities, independently of the powers at Peking, for the joint presence of Russian and Chinese troops in Manchuria for an indefinite period. The Russian minister of foreign

affairs, Count Lamsdorf, declares that this action has been taken for the same reasons that compelled the powers at Peking to exact terms from China sufficient to protect foreign interests throughout the empire. Nevertheless, the impression is strong that the czar's government regards Manchuria as distinct from the general Chinese problem and expects to arrange with China direct for the future status of the province.

There is much to confirm this suspicion. Russia naturally would have a strong interest in getting control of the region which includes all the eastern portion of the great trans-continental railroad and would also afford a bulwark and base of operations in case of trouble with the czar's most powerful eastern neighbor—Japan. There is good reason, too, for the Russians to look for trouble with Japan. Port Arthur, which Russia has monopolized for the terminus of its railroad, was really won from China by the Japanese, who were prevented by Russia from keeping the prize, and Japan is constantly suspicious that Russia will push on and absorb Korea, the little "buffer state," which the Japanese will some day want for themselves. Of course, if Russia should finally determine to establish a protectorate over Manchuria, which would be equivalent to annexing it, the powers would have to prevent the grab by force or else join in a complete dismemberment and partition of the Chinese empire.

Our own government could not possibly permit itself to share in any such spoliation, and therefore we must steadily resist every diplomatic tendency that heads in the direction of partition. Our one great interest in China is the preservation of the "open door," and it happens that Manchuria furnishes the largest part of our Chinese market for cotton goods. Russian absorption of this province would mean an end of the open door in that quarter, and if the rest of

China were divided up we should find ourselves entirely on the outside, with an interesting collection of "open-door" pledges as our only reminders of the wonderful trade expansion we were to enjoy in the Orient, and to which Hawaii and the Philippines were to be the stepping-stones. If ever we needed a strong diplomatic policy it is now with reference to Russia's presence in Manchuria. There is the real key to the whole future policy of the powers regarding China, and we ought not to take ourselves out of the controversy so long as our influence is needed against dismemberment of the empire.

**The Powers
in China**

Meanwhile, China is proceeding to carry out the demands of the powers. Several of the Boxer offenders have been executed and the negotiations now relate chiefly to the amounts and methods of paying the indemnities. The powers are planning the details of gradual withdrawal from Chinese territory. Probably the American and French will go first, the British will take the summer for it, and the Germans are expected to stay as long as Count von Waldersee continues to enjoy himself in the heroic function of chasing and looting little bands of offending Chinamen who are luckless enough to let their whereabouts come to his ears. The count doubtless expects a monument when he returns to Germany and it ought to bear a statue representing him in Brobdingnagian proportions, armed to the teeth, and with the rapt expression of the giant who has just "smelled the blood" of a Chinaman.

Just recently, a flurry has arisen at Tien-Tsin between England and Russia, the importance of which has been much exaggerated for sensational purposes. It appears that through some error the Chinese granted the same piece of land as a railroad concession to both Eng-

land and Russia. The English, upon undertaking to build a siding on it, at once clashed with the Russians. No question of large importance is affected by this misunderstanding, and it is incredible that so slight a cause, obviously growing out of a mistake and perfectly capable of easy settlement, should lead to serious difficulties between the two powers, much less to war.

The Giant Steel Corporation

The United States Steel Corporation was finally organized on February 25th, under the laws of New Jersey, with a nominal capitalization of only \$3,000, soon to be increased to \$850,000,000, with some \$304,000,000 of bonds; representing in all a capitalization of \$1,154,000,000. This giant concern represents by far the larger part of all the iron and steel manufacturing industries of the country, including the Carnegie Company, the Federal Steel, the American Steel and Wire, the National Tube, the National Steel, the American Tin Plate, the American Steel Hoop, the American Sheet Steel and other large establishments. One-half the capital stock will consist of 7 per cent. preferred stock and the other of ordinary common stock, while the bonds will bear interest at 5 per cent. It is understood that the \$304,000,000 of bonds of the new company are to be given in exchange for the bonds and 60 per cent. of the stock of the Carnegie Company. The Carnegie Company's bonds amount to \$160,000,000, leaving \$144,000,000 for the purchase of 60 per cent of the stock. As the Carnegie Company's stock also amounts to \$160,000,000, 60 per cent. of which would be \$96,000,000, it appears that the \$144,000,000 to be given for this would be at the rate of \$1,500 for each \$1,000 share. As Mr. Carnegie's individual interest in the Carnegie Company amounted to \$86,379,000 in stock and about the same amount in bonds, it will be seen that the consolidation has enabled him to

retire with a guaranteed interest-bearing fortune of considerably more than \$200,000,000.

It is estimated by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, to whose efforts chiefly this vast consolidation is due, that probably \$150,000,000 would have been spent by the various companies now combined in the next five years in competition and the building of additional plants, all of which will now be saved. In order to pay 5 per cent. on the bonds, and an average of 5 per cent. on the preferred and common stock (which means, of course, only 3 or 4 per cent. on the common stock) the new corporation will have to earn a net surplus of about \$50,000,000 per year. As it is estimated that the various industries consolidated represent a total production of more than 10,000,000 tons annually, it will be seen that a profit of at least \$5 per ton must be earned to get this \$50,000,000. With continued prosperity and expansion of foreign trade it does not seem unreasonable that this can be done, assuming, of course, a degree of ability in management adequate to so gigantic a business. This is a large assumption, it must be admitted, and only experience can determine whether any individual manager or any board of directors that can be brought together will be competent successfully to handle an institution of such prodigious bulk, competing in the world's markets and subject all the time to new competition at home whenever the maximum efficiency of management is not maintained.

Such a consolidation probably represents the high-water mark of industrial integration. The new corporation, if it endures, may expand with the growth of the steel industry in this country, but there is no other line of industry which offers the opportunity for consolidation on any such gigantic scale. The only possible approach to the steel combination in the matter of size would be a consolidation of several different kinds of

industries—an experiment which is almost certain to exceed the limits of greatest economic efficiency by its very unnaturalness, cumbersome bulk and diversity of policy, and therefore to invite failure from the outset. The United States Steel Corporation not only represents the high-water mark of consolidation but it is a monument to the extraordinary financial genius of the man who was able to bring together in this way interests so vast, diverse and antagonistic.

If this gigantic corporation has not been burdened with a capitalization beyond its earning capacity, and if the management proves equal to its task, the consolidation ought to be a permanent success. If it is, it will prevent a possible demoralization of the steel industry, which might very likely have come through excessive competition and brought panic and hard times in its train. The billion-dollar corporation, under wise management and conservative financial guidance, would make for industrial stability at least, and in this every laborer and indeed every citizen of the republic has a constant and vital interest.

Death of

Benjamin Harrison

Ex-President Harrison, who died at Indianapolis March 13th, was a statesman of great intellectual ability, definiteness of political views and firmness in the discharge of public duties. These qualities, together with unquestioned personal integrity, make up a type of man not so numerous in our public life to-day that any can be spared without the loss being felt. General Harrison was one of the old-school republican statesmen of the period made memorable by many other strong individualities,—such, for example, as Blaine, Conkling and Sherman. Indeed, it will probably be a long time before a national administration offers such a combination of ability and brilliancy as we had in

Harrison, Blaine and Reed, as president, secretary of state, and speaker of the house, respectively.

General Harrison was born at North Bend, Ohio, in 1833, and educated at Miami University. In 1854 he settled in Indianapolis and built up a law practice, interrupted by two years of active service in the field during the civil war, in the course of which he rose from the rank of lieutenant to brigadier-general. He was United States senator for Indiana from 1881 to 1887 and president of the United States from 1889 to 1893. He was not in sympathy with the foreign policy of the McKinley administration, but refrained from active criticism until what he considered the greater danger of Bryanism was safely averted by the election of 1900. It must be said, of his recent contention that the constitution extends uniformly to all our new possessions, that it placed his own earlier policy of Hawaii annexation in an unfortunate light, since, if the Hawaiians were entitled under the constitution to political equality, they were clearly unfit to be annexed at all. General Harrison did not repeat this mistake, however, in his attitude on the Philippine question. He was strongly opposed to annexation of these islands, and this partly because of his conviction that if once annexed we could not avoid admitting them to the full enjoyment of American constitutional privileges.

General Harrison was never a mere carping critic or "back-number" statesman with a grievance. Indeed, his private life after retiring from the presidency was a model of active usefulness and dignified reserve. His recent position on the government's foreign policy was that of a broad-minded statesman and thorough patriot. Had his hand been at the helm during the last four years we should probably have had no Philippine war and no need of wrenching the constitution to provide for the exigencies of a "colonial" policy.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF QUASI-PUBLIC CORPORATIONS

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It has long been recognized that there are certain forms of enterprise which differ in some important respects from ordinary business ventures. They may be divided into two classes. The first class comprises those where the industry tends strongly to become an actual monopoly and where uncontrolled monopoly becomes injurious to the interests of society. In such a case no one denies the necessity of some form of social intervention. The difficulty arises when we have to decide whether this should take the form of government ownership or only of government control. The second class of industries comprises those which may continue to be subject to competition, but where the social interests involved are of such commanding importance as to demand the active interference of government. An attentive observation will disclose the fact that both classes of enterprise may be included under the general name of transportation and communication, understanding these words in the broadest sense to include the delivery of values as well as the transmission of intelligence. It is largely about some of these forms of enterprise that the great controversy is taking place in every modern country. These industries may be classed under the following heads:

I. Transfer of Values.

(1) Coinage; (2) Issue of Notes; (3) Banks of Deposit; (4) Banks of Issue.

II. Transfer of Products.

(1) Markets and Fairs; (2) Docks and Piers.

III. Transportation of Persons and Freight.

(1) Roads; (2) Canals; (3) Ferries; (4) Bridges; (5) Railways; (6) Street Railways; (7) Express Companies.

IV. Communication or Transmission of Intelligence.

(1) Post Office; (2) Telegraph; (3) Telephone.

V. Transmission of Utilities and Power.

(1) Water Works; (2) Lighting Companies, Gas and Electric; (3) Electric Power Companies; (4) Steam Heating Companies; (5) Hot Water Companies; (6) Irrigation and Power Canals.

Although in the beginning all these enterprises are in the hands of private individuals, some of them are gradually subjected to more and more social control, until they are finally taken over by government itself; and when once the government manages these enterprises the fiscal policy involved slowly changes. So far as this progress takes place at all, there seems to be a definite law of evolution in all the media of transportation and communication. No less than five stages of development may be discerned:

Everywhere at first they are in private hands and used for purposes of extortion and profit, like the highways of mediaeval Europe, or the early bridges and canals and markets. In the second stage, they are "affected with a public interest," and are turned over to trustees who are permitted to charge fixed tolls but are required to keep the service up to a certain standard. This was the era of the canal or turnpike trusts or companies. In the third stage the government takes over the service, but manages it for profit, as is still the case to-day in some countries with the postal and railway systems. In the fourth stage, the government charges tolls, or fees, to cover expenses only, as was until recently true of canals and bridges, and as is the theory

of the postal system and municipal water supply with us at the present time. In the fifth stage, the government reduces charges until finally there are no charges at all and the expenses are defrayed by a general tax on the community. This is the stage now reached in the common roads and in most of the canals and bridges, and which has been proposed by officials of several American cities for other services, like the water supply.

It is obvious, however, that many of the industries referred to above have not gone through the whole of this evolution, and that some of them still remain in the very first stage. It is necessary to consider what are the reasons for this inequality of development and what may be expected in the immediate future.

The general principle may be stated as follows. The problem of governmental ownership of industry depends primarily upon three considerations:

(1) The existence or non-existence of a widespread social interest.

(2) The amount of capital invested.

(3) The complexity of management.

It is plain, for instance, that there can be no demand in a community for the governmental assumption of any industry unless that industry is of such fundamental social importance to everyone in his efforts to get a living as to justify interference by government to that extent. No one but the extreme socialist would ask that government should manage a shoe factory. For this, after all, involves a special, and not a general, interest.

It is the same with most industries. There are so many different kinds and grades of consumers for well-nigh every commodity that there is scarcely any consciously felt community of interests in the matter. But when we come to the enterprises mentioned above, the case is different. Everyone feels that there is a

distinction between such industries and purely private industries, because the former are far more intimately associated with the life of every citizen and with the common welfare. Accordingly, even though they may be retained in private hands, it is generally recognized that there is in them a quasi-public element which justifies some form of effective social control.

In the case of the industries here included under the head of the "transfer of values," there is comparatively little discussion to-day. The coinage of money, which was formerly in private hands, is now everywhere conceded to be a public function. The banking business is also seen to be quasi-public in character. Although in many countries banks are still owned by private individuals, government control in the way either of accounting or of participation in the management is everywhere recognized as a necessity. The only moot question is as to whether the paper currency of a country should be issued by private banks or by the government. The decision of this question is largely dependent upon the political situation in the respective countries.

Much the same may be said of the class of industries mentioned under our second head. The markets, which in the middle ages were almost exclusively private, are now coming more and more to be under public control. The survivals of the old system in England, whereby individuals who received medieval grants of market rights are still enabled to control the market privileges in many of the towns, are now felt to be anachronisms; hence in England as in many other places in Europe the vested rights of individuals are being bought out by the local corporations. In America the provision markets on a large scale are very largely under public control, and yield a substantial income to the city authorities. In the case of the docks and piers, very much the same development has taken place. In the United

States the progress has not been so rapid as abroad, but no one acquainted with the recent history of New York city can doubt that the municipalization of the river front is leading to a great increase of facilities as well as of public revenue.

When, however, we come to a consideration of the last three classes in our schedule, we reach the problems which are being so actively discussed at present. In a few of the sub-divisions the controversies have been laid to rest. For instance, in the case of the common highways the process is about complete. Originally the roads were the private property of the petty princes, who used them for purposes of extortion. It was only after a long period that the general government took over the highways, although they frequently allowed private trusts or companies to manage the turnpikes, on condition that the payment of tolls to them would insure the keeping of the roads in good repair. It is only of comparatively recent occurrence that the tolls have been abolished and that the roads have become the common highways of the country. In certain rural sections of the United States to-day there is still some controversy over the principle. But in general it may be said that the period of discussion is at an end.

The same state of affairs is found in the case of bridges and very largely also in that of canals. Canals were almost everywhere at first owned by private parties. New York, however, from the very outset made a shining exception in the case of the Erie Canal, and her example has been largely followed in this country. It will be remembered that it is only within the last two decades that canal tolls were abolished in New York and that the canals were made free to all. But the canal problem is to-day of minor importance because of the advent of newer media of transportation.

In the case of ferries, when they are of distinct social

importance, they are generally in the hands of the government, although they may, as in the case of New York, be rented out to private parties.

The same considerations apply in the main to the fourth class of industries. Discussion over the post-office has been largely laid to rest, so far as the transmission of letters, at all events, is concerned. Everybody, with the exception of some extreme individualists, like Mr. Herbert Spencer and his followers, is agreed that the postal business should be in the public hands, because in a democracy everybody is supposed to read and write, and thus to have an equal interest in the use of the mails. The chief reason, however, why there is no dispute on the question of the post-office, is that the government post originated at a time when there was no controversy over the limits of government interference; when this controversy arose, the postal service had become such a well-settled government institution that few people even thought of raising the question. Moreover, in the case of the postal service it will be recognized that all three of our criteria hold good. In the first place, there is a widespread social interest; secondly, the amount of capital invested is very slight, nothing being needed but the sites and buildings for the post-offices, and a few simple devices for stamping and transporting the letters; and, thirdly, the management itself is comparatively simple. Yet even in the post-office it is a notorious fact that government management is more costly than private management. A famous postmaster general of the United States once told the present writer that if instead of being employed by the government he were at the head of a large private corporation running the post, he could save at least twenty million dollars a year. He could do this principally through the more effective administration and con-

solidation of post-offices, which is at present rendered impossible by political conditions.

Nevertheless, no one would think of abandoning the government postal service. The only controversy in this country arises over what are in other countries some of the ancillary features of postal administration. Such, for instance, is the problem of the postal telegraph, to be discussed below; and such, also, is the problem of parcels post. Almost everywhere, except in the United States, this is a well recognized function of the post-office; with us, the private express companies are so firmly entrenched that there seems to be little prospect of altering the situation. Yet all the arguments in favor of a letter post would apply almost equally well to a parcels post. In theory at all events, there is no reason for further continuance of private express companies in the United States.

When we come to the telegraph, what has been said of the post-office applies in the main also to the telegraph service. Unfortunately, in this country the telegraph service is not used by everyone. The charges are apparently so high and the conditions are such that the telegraph is used chiefly for business purposes, and only to a very slight extent for social purposes. In other countries, where the telegraph is an adjunct to the postal system, and where the rates are lower and the facilities greater, the people use it, as everyone knows, to a far greater extent in proportion to the intelligence of the people, than we do. Therefore, from the point of view of possible widespread social interest, the telegraph service ought to be put on a par with the postal service. In the United States postal charges are lower and telegraph charges are higher than abroad. Secondly, as regards the capital invested, while in the case of the telegraph the necessity for the application of capital is somewhat greater than in the case of the post,

it is slight as compared with other interests. All that is necessary is to procure enough capital to put up poles and to string the wires, and possibly also to secure certain rights of way. If the government were to attempt to buy out the telegraph lines there would therefore be a capital outlay, but still an insignificant one as compared with that invested in ordinary enterprises for other means of transportation. Finally, in the case of the telegraph, the complexity of management would also be a slight factor. Naturally there will be from time to time new inventions in telegraph apparatus. The experience, however, of even such sleepy administrations as those of France and England shows that the telegraph service does contrive to keep on a level with the new inventions. And while the telegraph operators may in some respects be compared to the postal clerks, the government telegraph generally manages to secure a high level of efficiency in its officials.

Therefore, it seems that if we look at the problem from each of these three points of view, the widespread social interest, the amount of capital involved and the complexity of management, all the conditions are in favor of the assumption of the postal telegraph by the government. This has been recognized by almost all the countries of the world, including the most advanced democracies, such as Switzerland and Australasia. The history of almost every country except our own shows that, although the telegraph may have started in private hands, it was sooner or later brought under government control.

It is well known that when the first telegraph in the world was started in the United States in 1844, it was practically in the hands of the government, and that the government decided not to go on with the telegraph business, largely for the same reason that led the

postmaster-general in England at about the same time violently to oppose the postal reforms of Mr. Rowland Hill. The administration thought that the whole matter would not amount to anything and did not want to commit the government to such a hazardous experiment. On the other hand, the originator of the telegraph system, who was wise enough to appreciate the ultimate outcome, did not conceal his opinion that it ought to form a natural adjunct to the postal system.

The only reason why there is not a louder outcry in this country for governmental assumption of the telegraph is that the abuses of the telegraph system are far less than those connected with other forms of transportation. It must be remembered, however, that the question of abuse is not the only one, and that what is to be desired is above all the greatest possible social utility. It might be claimed that if the government managed the telegraph lines of this country it would not make as much money as the Western Union Telegraph Company. This is no doubt true; but, on the other hand, the object of the government should be not to make profits but to run the service just as the postal service is run. In the post-office, any possible profit is utilized to reduce the rates. In the case of the telegraph, we know that the rates are far higher in this country than abroad, even allowing for the difference in the value of money; the rates are higher not only for long distances, but also for short distances. As a result the use of the telegraph service in this country cannot be compared with that abroad. Therefore, although there may not be any serious abuses connected with the telegraph management in the United States, it seems that every argument that can be made in favor of the retention of the postal service by the government can be applied to the assumption of the telegraph service by the public.

Practically the same arguments would hold good in the case of the telephone. Only a few months ago England enacted a law whereby in a very few years the whole telephone system will be part and parcel of the English post-office. Almost everywhere else in the world, even though the telephone service may have been originally in the hands of private parties, it is now fast coming to be under the control of the government. It is true that the arguments are not quite so strong for the telephone as for the telegraph. The complexity of management is somewhat greater in the case of the telephone than in that of the telegraph, and it requires a little more care to keep up to the level of modern science. Nevertheless, the difference is not material. To the extent that the long distance telephone, since the great invention of Professor Pupin, will probably become even more important than the local telephone, the arguments in favor of the retention of the telephone in the hands of the federal government rather than of the local government become much stronger. It is to a great extent considerations of this kind that have led England to take the power over the telephones away from the municipalities and to put it in the hands of the central government. Of course, all this assumes that, hand in hand with this progress, there will go a development of civil service reform. As a matter of fact there have been few political dangers in this country shown in connection with the postal service. To the extent that they have manifested themselves they have been more than counterbalanced by the political dangers that would have ensued had the postal service been in private hands. In all such cases it is necessary to balance the good against the evil.

While the arguments hitherto advanced would lead to the governmental assumption of the telegraph and the telephone, they would lead to precisely the opposite

conclusion in the case of the railways. So far as the general social interest is concerned, the situation would indeed not be different. It is this fact which has brought everyone in this country to a recognition of the need of some form of social control over the railways. But the main reasons why government railways would be a failure in the United States have been mentioned in the other two general considerations adduced above. Take, for instance, the question of the investment of capital. In the case of the post-office, even though we spend over a hundred millions a year there is no large capital account. It is chiefly current expense. But in the case of the railway service we have the most stupendous of all modern industries. The amount of capital invested is gigantic. The fiscal reason would suffice to kill the scheme for government railways. Governmental ownership would throw the whole budget out of gear; the revenues and expenditures of our railways would be two or three times as great as all the rest of our revenues together, and the entire budget would depend upon the temporary prosperity or lack of prosperity of the railway system. We know that in bad times the revenues of the railways in this country shrink by tens and even hundreds of millions of dollars. This would so embarrass the whole revenue side of our budget as to lead to a complete revolution not only of our tax system but also of our entire budgetary methods. This point, which has commonly been overlooked, is of considerable significance.

Still more important, however, is the problem of the complexity of management. This alone would be an insuperable bar to governmental management of railways. Of all businesses, the railway business calls for the most delicate handling and must needs pay for the highest possible business ability. The great salaries of to-day are given to the railway presidents—salaries from

\$25,000 to \$100,000 a year, and deservedly so, because without consummate capacity the attempt to run a railway would be a failure. Governments could not hope to compete successfully in this respect with private individuals.

Conditions may indeed change during the next few decades, but under the present system we cannot expect a democracy to pay as high salaries to its officials as private industrial enterprises are able to do. The average man of business or professional ability will not be attracted to the government service. There are indeed honorable exceptions to the rule. Yet we all know of men who would have been glad to accept government positions when offered to them, but who have stated that they could not possibly afford to do so. It is asking a great sacrifice of a man, in these days of such immense opportunities for special ability, to give up comfort and wealth for the more ideal end of serving the public. Only the best and the noblest men do that, and their numbers are as yet exceedingly few. It may be claimed that government can get the same talent at a somewhat cheaper rate than private corporations, but this is not true to the extent that it would be necessary to equalize the difference between public and private management. Therefore, to turn over the greatest, the most complex and the most fundamental industry of modern times to the hands of the government would, under present conditions in the United States at all events, lead to such a decrease in efficiency as soon to become well-nigh intolerable. The great advantage of individual initiative in industry is that the ability of the citizen is turned toward the reduction of the cost of production. All progress in the world consists very largely in lowering the cost of production of commodities by driving out old processes and introducing new processes. This results

not alone in lower prices for the commodity, but, as our history has amply shown, in higher wages for the operative as well as in more prosperity for the employer. A prominent German who was one of the chief advocates of the assumption of railways by Prussia, and who has written admirable books on the American railway problem, has said that if he were an American he would be the most outspoken opponent of government assumption of railways in this country. The difference in political conditions must everywhere be borne in mind.

To say that the government should not assume the railways does not mean that the government should permit free competition in the railway service. The great advantage of the competitive system is that competition always forces the price down to the level of the cheapest competitor. It is only through the force of competition in ordinary industry that the conditions arise under which new inventions are made, under which new machines are introduced, under which the cost of production is lowered. All progress, therefore, which directly depends upon the decrease of the cost of production depends upon the competition between producers. That is why, under the competitive system of the nineteenth century, the world has been making such immense advances. Now, this very excellence of the competitive system discloses its weakness when applied to a public or quasi-public enterprise. Prices can be brought down and lowered only through the effort of producers to get the better of each other and to offer to their purchasers all kinds of inducements in order to widen their market. Every merchant and manufacturer tries so far as he can to secure control of the market, and he attempts to do this by reducing his own price to any point that is consistent with profits to him. If I go to a woollen house in Worth Street, I try to ascertain what my competitor is paying for these goods, and then I try to get a little

lower rate. Upon my getting that lower rate or not will perhaps depend the success or failure of that particular merchant. In other words, private business men can succeed only by playing off one man against another. That is the meaning of getting the best rates available.

While this is the normal and necessary condition in ordinary economic life, it becomes bad instead of good when applied to a quasi-public enterprise, because the fundamental condition of all such quasi-public institutions is that consumers shall be put on the same level. It is just the opposite principle of what we have in ordinary business. Ordinary competitive enterprise means the preferring of the one over the other. The transportation business, which is primarily a quasi-public business, if it is to be conducted on the principle of social utility, means putting everybody on the same level. The only competition which is permissible in transportation is not a competition as to rates but a competition as to efficiency of service; whereas in ordinary business life competition includes not only competition in efficiency but also competition in rates. Hence the conclusion that competition is not applicable to the transportation business in the same sense that it is to ordinary enterprise. The sole meaning of the social control of the transportation business is to preserve the advantages of competition in facilities while doing away with that of competition in rates. But this by no means necessarily implies government management.

When we come finally to the so-called municipal monopolies, it will be seen that the consideration of the same general principles would lead to a conclusion in harmony with those already arrived at. In the case of the water supply, the arguments are largely in favor of municipal ownership and management. The social interests are of the utmost importance and there is almost no complexity of management. When once the

aqueduct and the water pipes are ready, all that is necessary is to regulate the pressure from time to time, which can be done under the charge of any competent engineer. Of course, with the growth of cities in size, the capital involved would become increasingly greater until, as in the case of the new scheme for the addition to the water supply of New York, tens of millions of dollars may be required. On the other hand, however, it must be remembered that here, as in the case of construction of new piers or docks, charges or rents can easily be fixed at such a point that, without unduly burdening the public, they will be sufficient to defray not only the running expense but also the interest on the debt and what is needed in the way of an amortization quota to fund the debt. Recent documents have shown that in the period from 1890 to 1898 alone the total profit of the Croton water supply of New York, over and above all expense of maintenance, amounted to almost \$14,000,000,—a fact which may be used in support of the proposition that water charges for residence purposes, at all events, should be still further reduced in New York. The argument in favor of municipal water ownership is thus strong. It will therefore not surprise us that the tendency toward municipalization of the water supply is a great and growing one in the United States. Over fifty-three per cent. of all water plants in the country are now in the hands of local governments.

In the case of the gas business the matter is more complicated. The social interests indeed are widespread, but not so overwhelmingly important as in the case of water. For, while everyone needs water, gas is only one among many methods of illumination. Secondly, the complexity of management is considerably greater than in the case of the water supply. The stimulus of private initiative is needed to a far greater extent in order that the management may avail itself of

the continual improvements in the process, thus leading to a reduction of cost. In the one great example of municipal gas ownership that we have had in the United States, namely, in Philadelphia, the results were satisfactory neither to the treasury nor to the consumer. Whatever may be said of the methods employed by the private monopoly to which the city of Philadelphia has farmed out the management of the gas service for a term of years, there is little doubt that both the consumer and the city treasury have profited to a considerable degree.

In the case of the electric light, the arguments in favor of municipal ownership are perhaps somewhat more convincing, at all events in those smaller towns where natural conditions favor the situation, and where the outlay is relatively inconsiderable. The complexity of management is largely minimized, but even here considerable care must be observed.

Finally, in the case of street railways, the arguments in favor of municipal management are less strong than in either the water or the electric light supply. For here, although the complexity of management is by no means so great as in the steam railway, it is of far more importance than it would be in the case of the telegraph, the telephone, or water works. It is very unlikely that the municipal authorities of any American city would have had the courage to undertake such great revolutions in the methods of transportation as have been successfully inaugurated and completed during the past few years in our chief cities. Not only is this true, but the capital involved is so tremendous that, without complete changes in our whole system of constitutional limitations, it would be entirely out of the question for our American cities to burden themselves with the gigantic debts that would be necessary to carry out the scheme. The far safer plan, for

the immediate future at all events, seems to lie in the direction of safeguarding the public interests through governmental regulation, rather than through governmental management. And even if government ownership be decided upon, every argument would be in favor of following the plan of the underground rapid transit scheme in New York, namely, government ownership but private management under conditions fixed by the municipality, which should cover at once the social interests of the community, the needs of the treasury and the relations between the corporation and its employees. In this way the best features of each system could be retained.

We see then, that in the consideration of this question we must not be led away by preconceived notions on either side. The outcry of socialism is utterly beside the mark, for in enterprises of the kind contemplated in this paper, the principle of free competition cannot possibly apply. Where the industry is necessarily a monopoly, the only choice is between a public monopoly and a private monopoly under social regulation. No one should be frightened by the bugaboo of socialism. It is a question for final decision after a careful weighing of the arguments for and against; and, in such a complicated problem as this, good arguments will be found on either side. But, above all, it must be remembered that the problem is not simply the abstract one of the general limits of governmental activity, but the very concrete problem, as to how far the practical political conditions in any particular country permit of the realization of the ideal. We may all agree, for instance, that in these enterprises, whether they are called quasi-public businesses or public service corporations, the public element is the preponderant one. We may all concur in the belief that even where it seems desirable to retain for the time the management

of such enterprises in private hands the period may come when the advantages to be derived from social control of private management may be outweighed by the benefits of direct governmental operation. Yet in a democracy it is always wise to make haste slowly and to refrain from taking a leap in the dark. If there is any truth in the historical tendency mentioned at the beginning of this paper, it is more than likely that the future—how remote a future we cannot tell—has in store for us a complete transference of quasi-public enterprises to the public itself. But until the general political and economic conditions are ripe for such a wholesale change, the probable result would be the realization of an abstract principle at the cost of efficiency and progress. That social control of quasi-public enterprises will in the near future receive a marked development is beyond any question. But it is not until social control has been tested and found wanting, that in the case of some of the distinctly municipal monopolies we shall be ready for the further step of public management.

DOOM OF THE DICTATOR

Dictation is government by force. Throughout the history of advancing society there has been a more or less continuous struggle to eliminate the dictator, to supersede dictation by representation. The effect of dictatorship is demoralizing even to the dictator himself, because it lacks the moral influence of responsible accountability. Human progress has not yet produced a type of being perfect enough to exercise the power of dictator without degenerating into an oppressive despot. Dictation and democracy, therefore, are incompatible; they are mortal enemies of each other. This is true in every sphere of social life, and, just as fast as the conscious demand for freedom and the capacity to exercise it advances, the tendency to supersede dictation by representation increases. Sometimes it requires a revolution, sometimes it comes by the less violent means of gradual evolution, but it always comes wherever civilization advances. The advance of this representative principle in government has been the conspicuous feature in the political progress of the nineteenth century. In Europe it began in England with the first reform bill and gradually extended from class to class until it finally embraced the masses, and, for the major portion of the political institutions, practically established democracy. In various degrees this principle of representation has extended to every country in Europe with the exception of Russia and Turkey. There dictation still remains supreme.

In this country our institutions are founded entirely upon the theory of representation. Dictation is an element obnoxious to the very nature and character of our institutions, but, as dictation is the prime element in all ante-democratic institutions, it naturally

asserts itself wherever the democratic principle is not sufficiently safeguarded to prevent it. In the development and perfection of democratic government in this country, therefore, it has been a more or less constant struggle to maintain the practical operation of the democratic principle. With every new phase of national development, creating new conditions and relations, the ever latent force of dictation asserts itself. It showed itself in industry, not merely in slavery but in all phases of factory and mercantile development. The concentrated organization of industry, the development of cities, the creation of large enterprises, all tended to produce new societary conditions and relations, and with every such new step the lack of experience was taken advantage of for the assertion of the power of the dictator. The struggle to preserve the idea of freedom, in fact as well as theory, has made an immense amount of protective legislation necessary along all the lines of social and industrial life. The rights and opportunities of the people to assert their desires, to organize and act for their own interests and be recognized by representation, have had to be defined and protected in an infinite variety of ways; in fact, in every phase of life where progress has produced new and more complex conditions. The guarantee of education, domestic sanitation, restriction of hours of labor in which women and children shall be employed in factories, shops and mines, the rights of the laborers to organize in trade unions, the rights of the people to act for and by themselves, are all a part of the constant movement in progressive society to eliminate the dictator and establish freedom and representation as the ruling principle.

In politics the representative principle has been more definitely recognized in theory but it has constantly encountered the powers of dictation in practice.

It is the spirit and purpose of the written constitution as well as the unwritten theory of this republic that in all its branches and subdivisions the government shall be the representative of the people, that the representation shall be actual from top to bottom, from beginning to end. As already observed, the growth of industrial institutions and civic life brought new conditions and forces which militated against the free operation of this representative principle, and in every instance dictation asserted itself. To correct this tendency and safeguard the democratic principle, several experiments of special legislation have been necessary. For instance, in the early days of the republic, before large industrial interests arose, open voting was an easy way of providing for the free exercise of the suffrage, but with the growth of special interests and development of a large wage class an element of coercive dictatorship arose, and organized efforts were made to use the power of employment to control the votes of the employed. This gradually came to be the substitution of dictation for representative election. For, while the form of voting remained, the freedom of the voter was gone. As this extended, discontent arose, protests were heard and at first punished by discharge and other penalties which could be secretly inflicted. Ultimately the protest against dictation, economic and political, culminated in protecting the citizen's right to vote by arming him with a secret ballot which neither employer, neighbor, creditor nor politician could intrude upon. Thus, by protecting the right of the citizens, the principle of democracy was extended to the ballot box.

This took many years, and many forms of experiment were adopted to accomplish the result. The dictator with larger resources and strong motives was constantly inventing new devices to circumvent the

protection afforded the citizen. Here, as in the protective industrial legislation, the first effort was usually a failure, loopholes in the laws were frequently found, so that amendment after amendment was necessary in every step of such legislation before real protection to the individual was secured. For instance, it took ten years of amendment upon amendment for the ten-hour law for women and children in Massachusetts to be effective. The word "wilful" had been inserted, so that the law-breaking corporation could escape the penalty by saying it did not know and hence did not "wilfully" break the law. So with the ballot. Many forms of ballots were tried in different states before effective protection to the voters could be secured by giving a secret ballot that was practical; namely, one which would not confuse the voter and defeat the object of the law. Finally, however, this has been substantially accomplished in the larger part of the United States and in England also. But here again, the principle of dictation, ever struggling for an opportunity to assert itself, has found a new field of operation. Driven from the polls by a long series of amended and reamended efforts of the people, it has concentrated itself upon the primaries.

Having lost the power to control elections, the dictator now concentrates his efforts upon the nominations. Under our party system this is scarcely less effective and in some respects more dangerous to public interests than was the more open coercion at the polls. In controlling the nomination of candidates to political office, the party boss becomes a veritable despot. This dangerous power is exercised in two important directions:

First; by dictating the nomination through the coercive use of patronage he destroys the rights of citizenship and thereby discourages the people from taking

any active interest in the primaries. The result is that practically nobody except agents of the "organization" attend the primaries, except under rare instances of special excitement. The whole slate is prepared before the primaries are held, and the primary and ultimately the convention is reduced to a formal confirmation of the dictator's will. This has been so completely reduced to a system that the public despair of accomplishing anything except by a herculean effort, and consequently respectable citizens with no other motive than performing their public duty have ceased to attend the primaries.

Second; another effect of this dictatorship in the primaries is to give the political boss unlimited power of blackmail. By controlling the nomination of candidates to the legislature he can dictate the legislation. This gives him the power to "bleed" business men and corporations in fabulous amounts. If they do not pay the blood money he has the power to enact injurious legislation against them, and in the desire to move in the line of the least resistance they pay the tax as a means of protection. This forced tribute from business men again further increases the power of the boss, by enabling him "personally" to contribute to the campaign expenses of needy candidates, thus further sealing their subjection to his dictation.

It is through this power that Mr. Platt is able to say before the legislature meets what legislation will be adopted. Before the present legislature was convened and before the members of either branch had any ideas on the subject, Mr. Platt announced that a police bill would be passed before the end of February, and it was. The members of the legislature had nothing to say about it, their function was to obey or receive their political death warrant. The effectiveness of this method was illustrated when Mr. Platt was *made*

United States senator,—it could hardly be called an election. He wanted a unanimous vote, and there were seven members of the legislature who were so far mistaken as to imagine that they had the right to disobey this injunction and vote for another candidate. In pursuance of this erroneous notion they voted for Mr. Joseph H. Choate instead of Mr. Thomas C. Platt, and they all paid the penalty for harboring such false notions. Every one of them died at the threshold of the primary, not one was permitted to have a renomination, so as to receive the approval or disapproval of his constituents. They offended the dictator, which was the unpardonable sin for which only political death was the penalty.

At the last election this method was worked with marvelous accuracy. Despite the popular demand for Mr. Coler for governor, Mr. Croker at the eleventh hour gave forth the edict that Coler must not be nominated. He apparently had no special candidate to name; the edict was, whomsoever you please except Coler, and Coler was not nominated. In the republican convention a similar edict went forth in favor of Mr. Odell. Once in a lifetime a tidal wave arises which the boss cannot control, as in the case of Roosevelt, but in ninety out of a hundred cases the edict is effective.

In one congressional district in New York city the boss was late in making up his mind on a candidate, and, the orders not having been effectively promulgated, the people elected delegates to a convention with nearly 40 majority for a candidate of their own choice; but the boss subsequently decided that another man must have the nomination, and, through the methods of rewards and punishments by giving and taking away offices, this majority was effectively turned into a minority.*

Another illustration of the far-reaching and effec-

* See *Lecture Bulletin*, February 15, 1901.

tive use of this power is now being enacted in Pennsylvania. There are two or three cities in Pennsylvania which have not been entirely subordinated to the Quay machine. Being utterly unable to reach them through public opinion he ordered his legislature to pass a law abolishing the office of mayor in second-class cities, and providing that the duties be performed by a "recorder," who was to be appointed by the governor. Of course, the act defines what constitutes second-class cities, and it exactly fits the municipalities which so far forgot their duty as not to elect Quay mayors, for which they are to be punished by disfranchisement. If they do not know enough to let the dictator select their mayor, they shall not have one, but shall be governed by a recorder appointed by a Quay governor.

Nothing has occurred since the dawn of parliamentary government which so boldly and ruthlessly trampled down the principle of representation as this Pennsylvania performance. There have been coercions and briberies and intimidations, England had her rotten boroughs and all the degrees of corruption, but never before was a political dictator bold enough and bad enough openly to legislate away the right of a municipality to elect a mayor, because it did not permit the election to be dictated by him.

But New York and Pennsylvania are not alone in this experience; it is comparatively general, especially in large cities throughout the country. The boss is the bane of American politics, and he is operating by similar methods with varying success from one end of the country to the other. Upon the principle that the same cause tends to produce the same effect, similar evils call for similar remedies. Nothing more clearly indicates the naturalness and the ultimate necessity of a social reform than the fact that it is simultaneously demanded by different communities without organized concert

with each other. The corruption and intimidation at the polls under the open-voting system was an evil associated with the unprotected popular vote; consequently, it arose wherever popular open voting took place; in Australia, in England and in the United States. In the natural tendency to counteract this evil, experiments were made in the different countries and in the different states to devise a workable system of secret or protected voting. The people of Australia were the first to discover the effective method, and the Australian ballot is now well-nigh universally used. It has become obvious to students of popular government and honest elections that the same protection furnished by the secret ballot at the polls must be applied to the primaries. The people of New York city, who have recently been shocked by an overdose of boss dictation, are awakening to the fact that, to insure approximate integrity of popular government, the nomination as well as the election of candidates for public office must be put into the hands of the people; in short, that the convention, the seat of boss manipulation, must be abolished and direct nomination by the people substituted in its place.

The very naturalness of this step is here again confirmed by the fact that the same causes are producing the same effects and the same evils are suggesting the same remedies throughout the country. The righteous demand for direct nominations, which is just now stirring the people of New York city, is revealing itself in numerous other states: Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, Ohio and Pennsylvania have all been stirred by and are experimenting with this question. Last year Minnesota adopted a law for direct nominations, and now the state of Wisconsin is shaken to its center by a popular demand for the same reform, which is now before the legislature. It is clear that the evil arises

out of the nature of the system, since its existence is coextensive with the system. The only efficient remedy is to take the power of nomination away from the dictator and give it to the people.

The people are honest. They have no motive for corruption and jobbery, but every motive for honest, wholesome and clean government. Put nominations in the hands of the people and protect the citizens in their nominating duties and the power of the boss will be gone. Here as everywhere else, experimentation is the road to perfection. The enemy will be ever-present in trying to render every such measure imperfect. It is the universal experience in government that, when the demand for a measure cannot be suppressed, the aim is to defeat the object by making the law ineffective. This has been the experience with every step in industrial and social legislation when the interests of any powerful class were arrayed against it, and curiously enough it has been the experience with the experiments on this subject of direct nominations. Laws have been passed in several states, aiming to give direct nominations, but they have had many defects. They have been, in short, partial experiments toward the evolution of a practicable and workable measure. New York has the benefit of that experience. Like the Australian ballot, the principle is sound, it is only the machinery for its application that needs perfecting.*

In New York state some important preparatory legislation has already been secured. There was a peculiar kind of vileness in New York; namely, the fraudulent packing of the rolls of the primaries, so that not only the boss could dictate but, if there was any danger of defeat, he could get the aid of the boss of the other party. The rolls of the republican primaries could be padded by names of democrats and *vice versa*.

*See *Lecture Bulletin*, March 15, 1901.

To meet this evil a very comprehensive and thorough primary law has been adopted in New York state, which provides for the careful enrolment of the voters in the respective parties and makes indiscriminate passage from one party primary to the other practically impossible. All this has been first-class preparation for the adoption of direct nominations. It has practically solved the difficulties which the experiments in other states have encountered. To have nominations for public offices made directly by the people, under the protection of the secret ballot, is the next important step in political progress. The death of the dictator is essential to the life of democracy.

SOME SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE QUESTION

MRS. MARY K. SEDGWICK

Men and women of serious intent know no more inspiring words than reform, development, progress. These are the watchwords of the advocates of woman suffrage, and it is hard to resist their summons.

We anti-suffragists stand therefore at a disadvantage, seeming at first sight to be merely in opposition, always a difficult and ungracious position, while the suffragists seem positive and progressive. In reality, however, it is they who oppose progress, in disregarding the conclusions of the long struggle for civilization, while we desire to advance the race along the lines of its development hitherto, sure that in evolution, not revolution, lies the safety of our country.

We advocate the highest advancement of the whole race, especially of women, in so far as their interests can be considered apart from those of men. We believe that woman suffrage would retard human progress—that it would introduce unforeseen complications into our social system, already too complicated—above all, that it would bring new burdens upon woman just as she is outgrowing her former disabilities and enjoying new opportunities congenial to her nature.

The old notion of "woman's sphere," narrowed to the round of domestic duties, is obsolete, and a woman may unchallenged do anything right and suited to her capacities. We differ from the suffragists more in methods than in ideals of usefulness, regarding them as radicals who would risk dangerous experiments and endanger the true proportions of life.

The movement for woman suffrage, a legacy from

the civil war, furnishes an outlet to able and restless women, not contented with ordinary mental and physical occupations. These women, deploring the blunders and corruption under male suffrage, feel quite as competent as men to deal with economic problems and political situations. They forget that the practical handling of these problems differs entirely from the theoretic treatment of the same; that it is not for themselves alone or for their equals in ability and patriotism that they ask full suffrage, an overturn of nature and of government, but also for the vast number of women not similarly inspired.

Anti-suffragists especially urge upon all women a broad and intelligent knowledge of public affairs. Whatever makes for righteousness in social, national or international matters profoundly concerns woman, that she may be an enlightened citizen and wisely influence the opinions of children and of men with whom she is in daily and friendly relations, adding to her naturally keen intuition the subtle discrimination that comes of training.

We welcome all efforts to help women to intellectual freedom, but with power comes responsibility and they must know how to use their freedom. We weave a new tyranny about ourselves if we assume more obligations than we are equal to, or responsibilities more fitly left to those better adapted to bear them, both by nature and experience. Education and opportunity for women have no necessary connection with the ballot. The path trodden by men is not conclusively the only road for women.

A recent writer has well said that, though it is still undetermined how far woman's needs and activities should be bounded by sex limitations, "no system of education can be comprehensive and satisfactory which leaves out of account the primary dividing principle;"

that there is "a division of labor upon lines of sex distinctly marked far down in the animal world." It does not follow that because the interests of men and women are identical their functions should therefore be identical. If they were, our civilization would become dwarfed and one-sided. As education is primarily a "training for power," it should be for the advantage of the normal relations of educated men and women in ordinary households where "the constant exchange of services and interaction of functions make the whole into an organism. That education is best for the two sexes which emphasizes difference, rather than that which obliterates it. Either, sex is an appalling blunder, or else it must have been intended that each sex should have its own work to do, not merely in the physical economy of the race but also in the social and intellectual world," to which we would add, the political world.

The present conditions of society have been reached only through a gradual development. The arrangement is not perfect, but it can be improved only slowly, and any fundamental upsetting of this slow progress must be mischievous to the body politic. There must be good reason for the present arrangement, as it conforms to two fundamental laws governing the social organism: *the physiological division of labor*, and *the co-operation of dissimilars for mutual benefit*.

The suffragists defy these elementary and fundamental laws of nature in demanding the ballot as a remedy for the present evident social evils. Instead of specialization they put wilful individualism, and instead of cooperation wasteful duplication. To my mind our strongest hope lies here; for they who defy natural law inevitably in the end suffer overwhelming defeat.

Dr. Felix Adler, in saying that extravagant liberty and wholly untrammelled individualism are at the

bottom of the curse of divorce, strikes the keynote of most of our social evils. It is because too many of us disregard our duties and responsibilities to society in its ethical sense that women consider themselves unrighteously restricted.

The development of the race has been a steady growth in specialization; from the differentiation of tissues in the lower forms of life, producing different organs with different functions; on through the division of labor which makes man an important member of a community instead of an isolated savage; up to the wonderful complexity of our modern life in which each man or woman, filling his or her special niche, has interests inextricably interdependent with those of countless other men and women. The outcry about "the subjection of women" seems to have little other foundation than the unreasoning longing of a child for what it has not.

"In Mr. Herbert Spencer's view," says Professor Giddings, "society is an organism not in mere fanciful analogy, and not morally only, but physiologically as well, because in its constitution there is a division of labor that extends beyond individuals to groups and organizations of individuals. There is a sustaining system made up of individual groups; a distributing system made up of commercial activities; and a regulating system, made up of political and religious agencies. Mr. Spencer takes much pains to show that the ethical progress and happiness of mankind are conditioned by this functional organization of society. The medium in which the highest development of personality is possible is a society having a *specialized* constitution, and presenting many degrees of composition. The *individual* must have a definite part in the divisions of labor and in the common life of the nation, the local community and the family.

“Whether his daily duty identifies him (1) with productive industry, or (2) with directive functions, or (3) with the extension of knowledge and the spiritualization of life, the individual is affected by all these interests if there is no derangement of the social organization. Those economic writers are mistaken who see only an *economic* gain in the division of labor, and deny that it can be *morally* and *mentally* beneficial to individuals. The division of labor gives a definite end to life. It ensures a definite discipline and that minute thoroughness which every investigator knows is one of the essential conditions of a rational mental habit. At the same time it releases men from their tasks to enjoy more hours of leisure than they could otherwise command.”

Equality does not necessarily mean similarity of functions, and the suffrage agitation is a retrograde movement, which carried to its logical conclusion would take the race back towards the condition in which no sex characteristics existed. For, the farther back we go in the scale of animal development, the less is the difference between the sexes, until we reach primitive forms of life in which sex is indistinguishable. Women in civilized nations differ more from the men about them than do those in savage tribes, history here confirming the teachings of evolution. Parkman says: “The social power of women has grown with the growth of civilization, but their political power has diminished. In former times and under low social conditions women had a degree of power in public affairs unknown in the foremost nations of the modern world. The most savage tribes on this continent, the Six Nations of New York, listened in solemn assembly to the counsels of its matrons, with a deference that has no parallel among its civilized successors. Four hundred years before Christ the question of giving

power to women was agitated among the most civilized of ancient peoples, the Athenians, and they would not follow the example of their barbarian neighbours." This movement for full suffrage, therefore, seems historically to be in a backward direction.

Moreover, the women of to-day are gainers by this process of specialization, as we are free to fill our time with the occupations for which we are best fitted. Not only is economy of time and effort thus achieved, but the *quality* of the work done is far higher, the best strength being given to a limited range, which would be impossible if both men and women of superior ability should devote themselves chiefly to the same social interest. Specialization may lead to narrowness, but the workers of the world will rightly prefer the excellence resulting from intensified effort to breadth with shallowness. The jack-of-all-trades is proverbially master of none.

Moreover, the extreme specialists will probably be only a moderate number in the realm either of mind or of matter. More men and women are needed capable of appreciating and enjoying the fruits of specialized study. Women particularly will represent this general culture. Dr. Adler has said, in effect, that the history of the world has taught us that while the feminine mind on the whole (we must make laws for the average and not for exceptions) is less original than the masculine mind, yet women do an equally necessary and difficult service to mankind in their finer, keener aptitude for criticism. They discriminate, not only more quickly but more subtly, between the important and the unimportant, the suitable and the unsuitable. This implies no mental inferiority; to sift the chaff, to select qualities and results, the true critical function, often confers on an original creation all its practical value.

In an ideal society men and women choose their occupations to suit both individual and sex fitness; wherever this is impossible energy is lost. Many occupations fall naturally to one sex or the other because of special fitness or unfitness. Men should do all the work calling for great physical strength, continued exposure, or long absence from home; in general, work involving the combative powers. Women must, on the other hand, take care of the children and home; they must do most of the teaching and nursing. Many other occupations may be entered by men and women with equal advantage, except that women are constantly handicapped by their peculiar physical limitations, a point which most suffragists ignore.

Women have every opportunity that men have for intellectual development and public usefulness, except in government and war. To counterbalance these limitations, women have at least two functions that men have not,—bearing children and training them, functions obviously quite as important as politics or military service. A third function may be added, for women have so far captured the direction of primary education that there are few men left teaching in elementary grades.

As has often been said, if men have proved such poor lawmakers as the suffragists assert, the mothers of the nations should prove that they can train their sons better before demanding the responsibility of the ballot. In any case it remains for the suffragists to show why it is such a supreme disadvantage to women to be free from the conduct of government and of war. Why should women sacrifice the privilege of untrammelled opinions, disinterested work and effective influence for the heated debate and bitter struggle for recognition and office which are such a ordeal for men in public life?

The suffragists assert that probably not more than

ten women in a hundred would care for active participation in politics. There are grave objections to granting the suffrage for the use of so small a proportion of the sex. These ten women in each hundred are probably the ablest and most ambitious of their group, women needed for the more important work of training children, or for boards of philanthropy and reform where the disinterested work of women tells enormously, simply because disinterested. Woman's power in matters of public reform is much greater because she cannot be accused of having any selfish or ulterior motive. She is known to be working simply to right abuses, and to protect poor and defeated members of society; if she wins, it is the triumph of justice, her cause is humanity's. But the necessary corollary of the ballot is eligibility to office, and there would always be voices to accuse of interested motives the woman voter contending for reform. It is absurd to say that the women on public philanthropical and educational boards are in politics, and that they have therefore shown their political capabilities already. The struggle in Boston in 1896 to separate politics from its public charitable, correctional, and reform institutions refutes any such statement.

If only ten women in a hundred used the suffrage wisely, there would be ninety in each hundred to swell the ranks of the indifferent, which means uninstructed, voters, of whom we have far too many among men. Moreover, many of these inactive women voters would be more than uninstructed; they would be ignorant and and unconscientious, some of them vicious.

Women would have not only to cast a vote but to attend (and watch primaries, caucuses, conventions. Many men do not do this, but unless women are to improve matters it is futile to double the present vote.

Our trouble lies in calling women a distinct class, and in regarding the question from the point of view of the

individual rather than of the whole state and nation. The men and women of a given stratum of society form *one class* together; for men and women living together, whether in tenements or palaces, are not antagonistic nor even indifferent to each other's welfare. It is only in comparing the exceptional woman with the average man, or the educated and public-spirited woman with the ignorant laborer that we get an apparent basis for equal suffrage. The whole agitation is founded upon a misapprehension of the social unit, which is not the individual but the family, of which each part contributes its share to the general good.

Those who argue that women would purify politics think of women of the higher type, more conscientious than men of less education and lower moral standards. But the vote of this kind of woman does not replace that of an idle, worthless man. If she votes, so does he, and the women of his family. Where is the gain of doubling the vote without improving its quality?

If woman's vote would purify politics, it would seem worth while to run the risk of revolution and to controvert the laws of nature. But why should it so operate? In their eagerness for the suffrage, women have descended to the arts of the ward politician. That arch-demagogue once governor of Massachusetts was supported by their leading journal because he declared in their favor. They offer themselves to every party convention promising adherence to whichever party will gain them the ballot, and a still darker feature is the female lobby said to be always working with insidious arts behind the scenes at Washington and at state capitals. Women are no wiser, purer, or more unselfish, *politically*, than men of their own class. The purification of politics by woman must come by her constant upholding of the highest standards. Free from the confusion of political strife, anxious only for the right,

"seeing straight and thinking clear," she has a far nobler field of power than if she were struggling in the dust and smoke of the battle.

Let us now consider the second great principle governing the social organism,—the "cooperation of dissimilars," which is fundamentally nature's wise use of the first great principle,—"the physiological division of labor." Just as that is specially directed toward the perfection of the individual, this is a united effort for the improvement of the mass. The differing quality of mind in the sexes makes their cooperation upon all social and philanthropic problems not only important but necessary for the best results. We here observe the beautiful law of proportion as opposed to the wasteful duplication of effort.

On this very ground it is urged that, if men and women are mutually helpful on boards of reform and education, they will be equally so in the ward room and the legislature. The suffragists ask: "What special fitness is there in the average male voter that the laws of division of labor and cooperation of dissimilars are obeyed in excluding women from the franchise?" We answer: "Men rather than women have always been the voters of a community, not because of superior judgment or higher moral sense, but because their sex stands in general for the physical strength that can enforce its decisions."

Since women are in many ways less fitted for public life than men, here is a satisfactory division of labor brought about by sex, saving for women much precious time and many precious qualities. At the same time, our second great law is observed through the cooperation of these dissimilars by different methods for a common end. As Dr. T. T. Munger says, women have not what is technically known as the legal mind, while it is equally true that men lack the delicate and sensi-

tive perceptions of women. Men are therefore more fitted for public life, and women for personal and domestic relations.

Much of the alleged unfitness of women for public life could undoubtedly be eradicated by proper education during the impressible period of youth. It will, however, always be true that women are more delicately organized than men, more quickly stirred emotionally and imaginatively. In political life women cannot acquire control of their emotions or the necessary practical training in public morals and manners; such training must be largely obtained before the age of twenty-one, and the arena of politics is plainly the last place in which to secure it.

Has political life trained our men to such lofty ideals of public honor, such impartial administration of justice, such habits of calm and fair discussion that we wish to entrust to its turmoil the impetuous and ardent nature of woman? Secretary Gage has said by newspaper report: "The increasing emotionalism which characterizes American politics is one of our greatest dangers, the tendency for great floods and waves of feeling to sweep over the community, and to carry thousands and millions with them into a sudden current. What we need is less emotionalism in politics, not more; I think," he concluded, "that the sudden admission of women into political life would greatly aggravate this danger."

Men admit that there is no career equal to politics for tense feeling and nervous wear. It demands the greatest coolness and deliberation, complete detachment from the personal view; and it demands these ready-made, it is not a school for developing them. Women do not need politics to incite them to cultivate their sense of public duty; they are, no less than men, bound to serve the state, and able to serve it wisely.

"The end of government is the good of mankind," said Locke, and that good can be attained only by conveying all the various forces of the race toward the common end. The contribution of women toward this end, while equally essential, is necessarily unlike that of men.

To conclude as we began: If women are eager to do their share in aiding the reform, development, progress of the world about them, they do not need the suffrage. The progress of nature herself has brought us to the present condition of a "physiological division of labor;" we are strongest when working in accordance with the laws of our own being; we have every opportunity to do all the work that our individual and sex limitations permit; while our best contribution to the political welfare of our country is not the same as that of man, but the cooperation of our dissimilar gifts with his for our mutual benefit and that of the state of which all are members. "We are all members of one body, but all the members have not the same office."

DISCREDITABLE TARIFF ENFORCEMENT

The prime object of a protective tariff is to render encouragement to the development and prosperity of domestic industries. It is to furnish to the capital and labor of the country the full advantages of the home market. This very importance of a protective policy to the welfare of the nation carries with it a corresponding responsibility for its wise and non-offensive administration. This necessarily calls for a high degree of administrative ability as well as integrity. In the hands of incompetent officers, appointed for their caucus-packing and convention-manipulating abilities instead of business capacity and integrity, a tariff law may easily be made an intolerable nuisance alike to business men and the traveling public. In the very nature of things a tariff law is inquisitorial: it pries into the private belongings of citizens; it goes behind their locks and even to the inspection of their pockets. This naturally opens the door for bribery, insolence and the infliction of various kinds of inconvenience and indignity upon individuals. Nothing is so well calculated to bring a tariff policy into disrepute and strengthen the hands of the advocates of free trade as maladministration by a collector of customs revenue.

If the present administration of the New York custom house had been organized for the special purpose of bringing the tariff into disgrace and laying the foundation for a successful attack upon protection it could hardly have been directed with more success. Every arriving steamer from Europe seems to cause a commotion which furnishes the press another text on the harassing of travelers and the irritating inconveniences imposed upon everybody having either friends or merchandise coming into the country.

A few weeks ago an order was issued excluding all friends of incoming passengers from the docks and preventing them from speaking to their friends until after the baggage had been examined and passed upon. This has become so scandalously offensive to the public that the assistant secretary of the treasury has felt called upon to explain. As a reason for this order he says:

"Evidence has reached the department tending to show that for a considerable period of time the government revenues have been defrauded by the failure on the part of some inspectors at New York to perform their plain duty. Unquestionably considerable quantities of millinery, dress goods and other merchandise have been brought into this country without payment of the duty and have been put into competition with goods which have been imported by honest merchants who have paid the duties required by law. The government is doing its best to put a stop to this practice."

This tells the whole story. Incompetency or dishonesty or both, in the custom-house administration, is at the root of the whole trouble. It will be remembered that, just before this irritating order went into force, some thirty-one inspectors and other customs officers in New York were discharged from the service in a single day. What did this mean? Were they dishonest or incompetent? It would seem that they were one or both, since the eight incoming steamers during the first ten days of March 1900 yielded only \$1,398.56 in revenue, while the same number of incoming steamers on the same dates in 1901 yielded \$19,413.09. If the service was so rotten that it was necessary to make such wholesale discharges, which were apparently justified by the results, it would seem as if the cause was deeper than the mere inspectors. This thing has been going on for four years. It is pertinent to ask how this sudden shake-up and assertion of virtue came about. It is reported from trustworthy sources that it is all the result of a private investigation made by the treasury

department when it was discovered, as Mr. Spaulding says, that "for a considerable period of time the government revenues have been defrauded by the failure on the part of some inspectors at New York to perform their plain duty."

Who is responsible for this inefficient and defrauding administration? Surely not the subordinates. One might as well charge the privates in the ranks with the inefficiency and demoralization of the army. Of course it is the responsible head of the department. If this state of affairs is found to exist after four years of administration, it is conclusive evidence of inefficiency, if nothing worse. Instead of discharging thirty-one subordinate inspectors, obviously the proper remedy was to remove the head who was responsible for the maladministration and put a more competent person in his place. This the public would have understood; such a measure would have shown that a wholesome moral force was flowing through the government service. But instead of that the responsible party is retained and a large bunch of subordinates, who were probably not responsible at all but only acting as do Tammany subordinates, in accordance with the "understanding," are discharged, and, as if to make a show of special virtue, an intolerable amount of red tape is suddenly thrown round the entire customs service, to the unnecessary inconvenience and irrepressible disgust of the community.

Yet all this is rather natural. An official who would pack caucuses, corrupt primaries and coerce delegates to political conventions can hardly be expected competently to administer so important a public office as the collectorship of the port of New York. That office requires a higher standard of ability and moral perception and attention to duty than could be

expected from a mere ward politician. Next to the presidency of the United States, this is the highest-paid position in the federal government. It was intended that it should command the services of a high-class man, but alas! If we ask why this is tolerated, why this one-penny method of dealing with the creature instead of the creator of the offence is adopted, the obvious answer is, because the "pull" of the local boss is stronger than the courage of the president. When evidence was presented abundantly justifying Collector Bidwell's removal for interfering with the rights of citizens,* Mr. Platt said: "*Not while I live.*"

There lies the secret of the whole scandal. It is this degrading, overawing power of personal dictatorship in politics that is the cause of the whole scandalous disturbance. If the administration had exercised the moral courage to ignore the machine and, upon the discovery of dishonesty in the department, had removed the head and placed a strong hand there to reorganize the force independently of the local boss, the public would willingly have endured the inconvenience involved, but when it comes only in the exhibition of a new-born virtue in the very parties under whom "the government revenues have been defrauded," it very naturally produces only disgust and protest. Thus, not merely the integrity of our nominating and electing machinery is undermined but the very policy of the nation is brought into disrepute by the incompetency and dishonesty born of the degrading influence of machine dictatorship in party politics.

* See *Lecture Bulletin*, Feb. 15, 1901; also *New York Press*, Feb. 18, 1901.

DIRECT NOMINATIONS BY PETITION: SOME NOTEWORTHY EXPRESSIONS

Mr. Gunton's lecture on "The Peril of Popular Government," published in the *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics*, February 15th, has called out a flood of press comment and a large amount of correspondence, showing the widespread popular interest in a direct-nomination system to protect the people in their rights of self-government against the unscrupulous methods of corrupt political rings. We have selected, and publish below, a few of the most interesting communications received:

My dear Mr. Gunton:

I have just read "The Peril of Popular Government," and want to thank you heartily for it. It has doubtless required some courage to make this plain statement and its direct attack upon the machine. But I am sure you are fearless in the presence of the conviction that has stirred in your heart. You have done a good piece of work which ought to bear good fruit. I am not surprised at the tale you tell—the surprise is that so many people still believe in the respectability of the machine.

Cordially yours,

(Rev. Dr.) R. HEBER NEWTON

(Rector of All Souls Church, New York City).

My dear Sir:

Since reading your address on "The Peril of Popular Government" I have ordered a number of copies, and, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, yesterday, we passed a resolution to procure and distribute 5,000 copies of it. . . . I only preface in this way in order

that you may understand the interest that I feel in the work that you are doing and in the way in which you have put forward one feature of our present situation.

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Yours very sincerely,

(Rev. Dr.) C. H. PARKHURST

(Pastor of Madison Square Presbyterian
Church, New York City).

Dear Sir:

I recently cancelled my subscription to your Magazine, but I now beg to renew same for another year, and enclose my check in your favor for \$2.50 in payment.

I am led to do this through reading the lecture you delivered February 15th last, on "The Peril of Popular Government," and I earnestly beg of you to deliver more lectures on the same subject, and so bring home to all those who love these United States and its form of government the necessity of fulfilling their duties towards that government and so prevent its falling into the hands of such men as Quay in Pennsylvania; Platt, Croker, et al. in New York, who use their power so obtained for debauchery and corruption. I hope you will not let Mr. Steele's case die in a pigeon-hole of the president's desk.

Yours truly,

F. H. SKELDING

(Cashier First National Bank, Pittsburg, Pa.)

Dear Sir:

I desire to express my gratification with your lecture of February 15th on "The Peril of Popular Government." It is most hopeful that you realize the truth and are in the way of making the public see it.

As there is evidence that the press is muzzled in the same way, the outlook has been a gloomy one. I

wish I had your faith in the president's action in the matter.

Wishing you ample courage and persistence, and the earnest cooperation of your board of counselors,

EDGAR TUCKER,

Cambridge, Mass.

Gentlemen:

I believe you are entitled to know by positive statement that I fully appreciate your efforts in the direction of good government and clean politics, and wish that it might be possible to have your articles on those subjects put into the hands of every voter of the country.

Yours very truly,

FRANK A. ROSS,

President, Board of Regents of Normal Schools,
State of Wisconsin: West Superior, Wis.

My Dear Professor:

If you succeed you will be as great an Englishman as Howard or Wilberforce. And why not?

(Rev.) D. A. MERRICK,

New York City.

Dear Sir:

Your brave and intelligent action, very business-like in its practicality and efficient in its seizure of the opportunity and of the central, salient points of attack, must arouse the admiration of all citizens who want an honest political system and an honest administration of government in all its parts. . . .

Your one proposed step is right and must mean much. It will make the bosses' work very much harder than now, at the least, and at the best may sharply clip their wings. Let us not hope for too much. The people get about what they want, and surely what they

deserve, for the most part. It perhaps would surprise the theoretical, the thinkers, the academic, to know in what way the average, smart, successful, more or less Christian, somewhat church-going and certainly very respectable and influential American business man views these identical matters that arouse in you such abhorrence. Let us not forget in our calculations the average man; *he is in the crushing majority.*

Push the good work along. Do up the existent primaries, give us the secret ballot for nominations. Let us make the bosses' work just as hard as possible. The rest of us have to earn our livings, don't let us permit them to get theirs any more easily than we ours. Your readers will await with deep interest the result of your thus-far moves, and when the time comes to speak up for the nominating ballot let us hope that they will be found solidly by your side, with many good men and true back of them.

Yours truly,

ROBERT HALLAM MUNSON,
Vice-President Hall & Munson Company,
Bay Mills, Mich.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN HIS ultimatum to Governor Odell, Mr. Platt seems to have done the dictator once too often. If the governor will back up his refusal to "obey" by rational leadership, he may prove to be Platt's complete undoing, to the great advantage of the whole nation.

AT LAST Mr. Bryan has taken Mr. Cleveland in hand. It is done in Mr. Bryan's best editorial style; the directness, and for the most part the correctness, of the treatment makes at least two columns of the *Commoner* very interesting reading. It really takes a Bryan or a Dana to do full justice to the subject.

IT IS interesting to note that the press of Minnesota, especially of Minneapolis, is urging its legislature to extend the primary election law providing direct nominations, which has been tried in Minneapolis, to the entire state. It is admitted that there are imperfections in the law, but these, it is contended, can be easily remedied. The trial in Minneapolis appears to have been sufficiently satisfactory to prove the soundness of the principle of direct nominations. "The world do move!"

SENATOR QUAY'S paper, the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, which is the most conspicuous advocate of the "Ripper" bill in Pennsylvania, defends the scheme of depriving the cities of Scranton, Alleghany and Pittsburg of the right to elect their mayors, on the ground that the city government of Pittsburg is very corrupt. The only way to have pure government in these cities is to have a Quay governor appoint the mayor. Could anything

more breath-taking be imagined? With Croker suppressing vice in New York city, Platt purifying the politics of New York state, and Quay exterminating corruption in Pennsylvania, the millennium must surely be near.

PRESIDENT HADLEY of Yale explains that he has been badly misquoted regarding the "emperor in twenty-five years" statement that has been going the rounds of the press. It appears he did not say it in reference to trusts at all. What he said was:

"We must accept the moral responsibility commensurate with our new political problem, and that if any one says that we cannot get the people to accept this responsibility the only alternative is an emperor in Washington within twenty-five years."

This shows how much more eager the press is for sensation than for truth, and warns public speakers who would not be misrepresented to avoid saying startling things which furnish food for demagogues, for the most unconscionable demagogue abroad is the sensational newspaper reporter.

IN OUR EAGERNESS to compliment the North Carolina manufacturers on agreeing to adopt the sixty-hours-a-week system we made a mistake. Their scheme is for sixty-six hours a week, which is seventy-five years behind England. Our praise was premature and unmerited. Even South Carolina has a sixty-six hour law, while in no state outside of the South is the working day more than ten hours and in some it is less. Had they adopted the ten-hour day as we mistakenly supposed, there might have been some reason in their request to defer legislation on the subject, but with a belated sixty-six-hour proposition there is none. Manufacturing industries which at this late day cannot

succeed without working women and children more than ten hours a day have no right to exist under a protective system in the United States.

AT LAST Mr. Bryan has a rival. Mr. H. Gaylord Wilshire of Los Angeles, who also publishes a revolutionary paper, challenges him to mortal combat thus:

Hon. W. J. Bryan, Lincoln, Neb.

Dear Sir:—Your solution of the trust problem is: "Let the nation *destroy* the trust," while my solution is: "Let the nation *own* the trust." I will pay all your expenses and give you \$1,000 to debate with me, *you* to elect time and place. If the audience decides you have the better of the debate, I agree to increase the payment to \$2,000. Await your reply, I am,

H. GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

The difference between these two candidates for leadership in the "coming revolution" is that in demanding that the nation "own the trusts" Mr. Wilshire represents straight socialist doctrine, while in demanding the suppression of trusts Mr. Bryan represents no recognized economic doctrine at all, but simply advocates the destruction of industrial organization, which is virtual anarchy.

A BILL has been introduced in the New York legislature by Assemblyman John Hill Morgan of Brooklyn, providing for the election of delegates to state, national and other party conventions by direct vote. It is encouraging to see that the idea of direct nominations has at last reached the New York legislature. But really it is little less than a waste of time and opportunity to pass a law for direct nominations merely for delegates to conventions. The mischief of the party dictator is worked with the delegates to conventions. It is upon them that the rewards and punishments are meted out. It is there that the deals are made and the source of popular elections corrupted. To be of real service Mr. Morgan's bill should apply to the nomination of candi-

dates for office instead of to delegates to conventions. He would then strike at the real evil, and besides greatly simplifying the nominating machinery would really put the selection as well as election of public officers in the hands of the people.

THE SOCIALIST propaganda is showing great and apparently increased energy. New socialist papers are coming into existence, and now a socialist college is announced. This current is augmented by many who are not definitely identified with it. President Hadley's recent prediction that: "We shall have an emperor in twenty-five years," unintentionally furnished a sweet morsel for advocates of "the revolution." By thus sweeping in its current all forms and phases of social pessimism, socialism threatens to become a veritable crusade against society. It is useless to scold; censure and ridicule do but stimulate the leaders and augment the ranks of the crusading army. Enlightenment, intelligent understanding of the nature of progressive society and the relation of industrial classes to each other and to the natural order of social progress, can alone save society from a disastrously disrupting experiment. This is the field where industrial and political education will tell most quickly and effectively upon the safety of our institutions and the security for the future progress of society.

THE CONTEST between the party boss and the president in the Sanger case is in reality a victory for the boss. To be sure Colonel Sanger is appointed, but at the sacrifice of the dignity of the president and his right to appoint his official family. Mr. Sanger was charged with not being on good terms with the "organization," and before he was appointed he had to call at 49 Broadway and explain to Mr. Platt "that he not

only is now an organization man but also he intends in future to work in perfect harmony and accord with the state organization," and that when nominating Mr. Choate for United States senator he only "eulogized Choate without traducing me" (Platt). The mere fact that Colonel Sanger had to go through this humiliating process is a moral defeat for the president. Had Mr. McKinley the proper moral courage becoming a president, he would have protected the dignity of his office by appointing Colonel Sanger regardless of whether he was an organization man or had criticized Mr. Platt when in the legislature. Mr. Platt appears to be demonstrating the truth of his diagnosis of Mr. McKinley in 1896, that "he is too impressionable a gentleman."

THE JACKSONVILLE (Fla.) TIMES, one of the very bright, good-natured southern papers, pointedly asks:

"If we have no right to impose a government without the consent of the governed shall we go behind Appomattox? If it be suicidal to incorporate unfit groups into our body politic, what shall we do with the negro? . . . Does Professor Gunton hold the Africo-American fit? . . . Was Cleveland right when he refused Hawaii? . . . Shall we repudiate McKinleyism utterly? Is it a proof of progress that our financial system is so far behind that of the other great powers? Should the treasury remain a bank?"

These are fair questions and we will answer them in the order asked.

(1) No, we should not go behind Appomattox because that has become an inseparable part of our history. The mistake of Appomattox was made at Fort Sumter. Statesmanship cannot unmake history, it can only avoid future mistakes.

(2) As a group "the Africo-American" is not fit and the policy which followed Appomattox in giving the negro the franchise was a mistake. It was "incorporating the unfit," and has cost the nation dear.

(3) To the question "what shall we do with the

negro?" there is but one rational answer: treat him like other people. If he is not fit for the suffrage his unfitness is due to some personal or social qualification; it is not his color. If it is his ignorance, or his inability intelligently to exercise the franchise, deal with these shortcomings, but deal fairly. If you want to make education, or the ownership of property, or both, the test of fitness, do so, but make them the test for everybody—white as well as black. Raise the standard of fitness as high as you please but make it the same for all.

(4) "Was Cleveland right when he refused Hawaii?" Yes, but he was wrong in using the power of this government in trying to put Queen Lil back on the throne.

(5) "Shall we repudiate McKinleyism utterly?" Not utterly, because McKinleyism is not utterly bad. McKinleyism stands for protection, for the development of manufactures, for using the influence of government to promote domestic prosperity, for sound money and national development, but we should repudiate the "Philippine-ism" and the "bowing to bossism" of McKinley, even if it involves rejecting McKinley himself.

(6) "Should the treasury remain a bank?" The treasury is not a bank. As Lincoln said, it is a "miser's iron box." It is not McKinleyism but pure Jacksonism. The sub-treasury system should be abolished and the funds of the government kept on deposit in a bank or banks properly organized, so that the government revenues will not create fluctuations of the currency. Some day the sub-treasury system will have to go.

THE TUSKEGEE NEGRO CONFERENCE AS AN EDUCATIONAL FORCE

MAX BENNETT THRASHER

Professor W. E. B. DuBois, who is recognized as an authority upon statistics pertaining to inquiries into the economic and educational conditions of the negro race in America, estimated as a result of a study which he made of the Tuskegee negro conference this year, that one session of the conference represented fully six thousand persons upon whom it would have a direct influence. The effect of the entire conference, then, would be felt, directly or indirectly, by a very much larger number.

The Tuskegee negro conference was established ten years ago by Booker T. Washington, principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. Mr. Washington sent out an invitation to the negro farmers living near Tuskegee to come to the Institute upon a certain day to spend a few hours in "talking over" the things which most interested them. Mr. Washington has said that he thought perhaps twenty-five or thirty might respond to the invitation. Somewhat to his surprise four hundred negro men and women, representing all classes and conditions, gathered at the Institute at the appointed day, and this number has increased with each successive year's sessions.

Mr. Washington has explained the reasons which led him to think of the possibility of such a gathering as this in these words: "Soon after the school at Tuskegee was established I became impressed with the idea that much good might be accomplished by some movement which would interest the older people and inspire them to work for their own elevation. I think I

first came to think of this when I had occasion to notice again and again the unusual amount of common sense displayed by what is termed the ignorant colored man of the South. In my opinion the uneducated black man in the South, especially the one living in the country districts, has more natural sense than the uneducated ignorant class of almost any race. This led me to the conclusion that any people who could see so clearly into their own condition, and could describe it so vividly as the common farming class of colored people in the South can, could be led to do a good deal to help themselves. As a result I called the first session of what has since come to be known as the Tuskegee negro conference."

The first sessions of the conference were held in what was then the school's chapel, the largest hall which any of the school buildings then afforded. Both school and conference soon outgrew this room, and a rude temporary structure was put up for their accommodation. This building was of rough boards, with no windows but wooden shutters. Its floor was the earth, and the seats were backless benches made by spiking planks on to posts driven into the ground. The bareness of the inside walls was somewhat softened by draping them with Spanish moss, over which flags were caught back here and there with palmetto leaves. The light in this broad low room was dull at best, and when the late-comers who could not get inside the building clustered around the doors and windows like bees around the mouth of a hive they made the dusky interior look still more dim. I saw the conference for the first time in this building five years ago, and I have seen every session since then. Now, the meetings are held in the institute chapel, a handsome brick building which will seat two thousand persons, and in which, at this year's session, many had to stand.

This chapel is the building in which President

McKinley spoke to the students when he visited Tuskegee two years ago with his cabinet. Like nearly all the buildings at the school, it was built by the students as a part of their industrial education. Classes of young men who expect to earn their living as brick-makers made the bricks of which it is constructed—1,200,000 in number—in the school's brick yard. Other young men who are learning brick-masonry laid the walls. The men in the carpentry classes did the wood work. The tinsmiths covered the roof. The electric lighting fixtures and the steam heating apparatus were put in by students. The pews were made in the school's joiner shop after a model designed by one of the students. I mention these facts here not to show what the methods of the school are, and how practical its results, but to call attention to one of the many object-lessons which the men and women who come here to attend the conference get. They may not realize that they are coming to Tuskegee for anything but a "meeting," at which they are to hear speaking, and perhaps speak themselves; but from the minute they come in sight of the school grounds they are learning, even if unconsciously, by being obliged to see what people of their own race have done, what they and their sons and daughters may do if they will but try.

I speak of "women" and "daughters" in the preceding paragraph, and perhaps some one may say that the women who would attend the conference would not get the same benefit as the men from these object-lessons because they would not be engaged in the trades represented in the erection of the buildings. About one-third of the eleven hundred students at Tuskegee are young women. At each year's meeting of the conference the spacious vestibule of the chapel is transformed—under the direction of Mrs. Washington into

a suite of model living rooms, in which the teachers of industries for girls, with the help of some of their pupils, show how the students are taught housekeeping, sewing, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, laundry work, mattrass making and upholstery, and dairying. In the yards outside they also see the young women learning poultry raising, bee-keeping, market gardening, and the care of lawns and flower beds. In all these ways, and in the school's barns and dairy, on its farm and in its gardens, in the shops, and, not least by any means, in the homes of its teachers and officers, the visitors to Tuskegee at conference time get instruction and inspiration.

An Alabama negro farmer who was born a slave and who cannot read or write recently gave \$10 towards the support of a newly-established school for white students in his state. At this year's session of the conference he gave the same sum towards the support of Tuskegee Institute for colored students. This man owns several hundred acres of land, and good live stock, all acquired by his own exertion and that of his wife. They ascribe all their thrift and prosperity to the inspiration and teachings of the Tuskegee conference, at which they have been regular attendants ever since it was established.

Mr. Washington presides at all of the sessions. The speakers at the first day's session are the farmers themselves and their wives. There are no officers and rules. The only formal feature is the adoption each year of a series of declarations setting forth the purposes and sentiment of the gathering. Nothing which I could write would give so good an idea of the practical nature of the subjects discussed as for me to quote this year's declarations:

1. We have reached the tenth annual session of the Tuskegee Negro Conference. During all the years since the conference was started, we

have clung steadily to its original purpose, viz., to encourage the buying of land, getting rid of the one-room cabin and the abuse of the mortgage system, the raising of food supplies, building better school houses, the lengthening of the school term and the securing of better teachers and preachers, the doing away with sectarian prejudice, the improvement of the moral condition of the masses and the encouragement of friendly relations between the races. In all these particulars we are convinced from careful investigation, that substantial progress is constantly being made by the masses throughout the South.

2. We would urge our people not to become discouraged while the race is passing from what was largely a political basis to an economic one, as a foundation for citizenship.

3. We urge, since the country school is the backbone of the intelligence of the masses, that no effort be spared to increase its efficiency. Any injury to the country schools brings discontent to the people and leads them to move to the cities.

4. Statistics show that crime, as a rule, is not committed by those who have received literary, moral and industrial training.

5. Regardless of how others may act, we urge upon our race a rigid observance of the law of the land, and that we bear in mind that lawlessness begets crime and hardens and deadens not only the conscience of the law-breaker, but also the conscience of the community.

6. The rapid rise in the price of land throughout the South makes it doubly important that we do not delay in buying homes, and the increased demand for skilled workmen of every kind makes it necessary that a larger proportion of our young people prepare themselves for trades and domestic employment before they are crowded out of these occupations.

7. Community and county fairs, as well as local conferences and farmers' institutes, should be organized as rapidly and widely as possible.

8. We call the attention of our women, especially, to the wealth there is for them in the garden, the cow, the pig and the poultry yard.

9. We note with pleasure that landlords are building better houses for their tenants. We feel sure that all such improvements are a paying investment from every point of view.

These declarations are plainly printed at the Institute's printing office before the conference adjourns, and copies are given to all of the delegates to take home, with the injunction that if they cannot read them themselves they find some one who can read them to them. On the back side of the same sheet, this year, was printed a suggestion that during the coming year

the people get some one to give simple talks before their local conferences upon the following named topics, or, if no local conference exists in their community, talk these matters over among themselves:

(1) How to raise pigs. (2) What crops pay best. (3) How to raise poultry. (4) How to plant a garden. (5) How to begin buying a home. (6) The value of a diversified crop. (7) How the wife can assist the husband. (8) How the husband can assist the wife. (9) The right kind of minister and teacher. (10) How to make the house and yard beautiful. (11) How to live at home instead of out of the store. (12) The importance of keeping the children busy in school and out of school.

The influence of the conference has been steadily broadening. Similar meetings are now held in nearly every southern state, and usually every southern state is represented at this central meeting here. This year there were representatives here from twenty states, and from Indian Territory and Oklahoma. For the last four years Tuskegee Institute has employed a man as conference agent, to extend the influence of the conference, primarily in the state of Alabama. There are now two hundred and fifty local conferences organized in this state. Most of these hold regular meetings—usually once a month—and report here. One of the most interesting and valuable features of this year's meeting was arranged by the conference agent. During his going about in the state he has collected photographs showing the wretched one-room cabins in which many of the farmers lived a few years ago. He has also secured photographs of the comfortable houses and fine live stock which some of these same men now own, very largely as a result of the teachings of the conference. A stereopticon exhibition was given of views made from these photographs, and the lessons which the contrasting pictures taught were more emphatic than any mere words would have been.

At times unfavorable reports were made, or unfavorable features brought out in a report which other-

wise was encouraging, but in general the tone of the gathering was hopeful and quite in contrast to the pessimistic opinions in regard to the negro's future which have been put forth in some quarters. Mr. Washington himself, in speaking to the delegates of the ten years' existence of the conference said that he thought the greatest good which had come from it had been the creation of a feeling of hopefulness among those who had attended—a spirit of faith in the future of the race.

The gathering of so many negro men and women here, and the frank discussion of their conditions, the difficulties which beset them and the ways in which some of these difficulties have been overcome, soon began to attract the attention of people of both races who are engaged in educational or philanthropic work, and they began to come to Tuskegee in large numbers each year for the purpose of watching and studying the conference in session. Observation led to discussion of what they saw, and to plans for future work, until there has been developed a second day's session, called the "workers' conference," attended by two or three hundred men and women of both races, many of them of national reputation. Among those present this year was Mr. Charles W. Chesnutt, who one evening in the chapel read aloud his Southern story, "Hot-foot Hannibal;" Professor DuBois, Bishop Turner, Bishop Grant, Bishop Tyree, Dr. I. B. Scott, at least ten college presidents, several well-known philanthropic workers, professional men, and a great number of teachers. The topic for this year's "workers' conference," around which the discussions centered, was: "The negro's part in the upbuilding of the South: as a farmer and a mechanic; as a professional man; as a moral and religious factor." Last year the topic was: "What have thirty-five years of freedom done for the negro?"

It was at the "workers' conference" that Professor DuBois made the report to which I have referred in the first paragraph of this article. Professor DuBois had prepared a series of questions which he asked of about two hundred farmers taken at random from the delegates to the first session of the conference. The 199 men whom the professor saw represent real estate as follows:

Own land.	57	Rent land	142
Number of acres owned. . .	7048½	Number of acres rented. . .	6660½
Average	123½	Average	59

HOMES.

Number of rooms.	Owners.	Renters.
1	13	5
2	89	24
3	28	9
4	6	
5	3	
6	1	

In comparison with the average number of negro farmers in the South who own land, and of those who still live in one-room cabins, this report is significant and encouraging to those who have founded and promoted the Tuskegee negro conference.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Dismissal of
Professor Ross

The more that comes to light about the dismissal of Prof. Ross from Stanford University the more indefensible does the proceeding appear. A committee of well-known economists, including Prof. Seligman of Columbia, Prof. Farnam of Yale and Prof. Gardner of Brown, has made a careful investigation of the case, and finds, as is admitted by President Jordan himself, that Prof. Ross was not dismissed because of any reflection on his private character or on the ability and success of his work as a professor in the university. The fact is, other matters aside, the dismissal seems to have been chiefly due to Professor Ross' criticisms of coolie immigration from the Orient. The committee finds that "not until immediately after delivery of the coolie immigration speech did Mrs. Stanford force Prof. Ross' resignation In a letter of June, 1900, President Jordan stated: 'The matter of immigration she (Mrs. Stanford) takes most seriously.' In the same letter, while Mrs. Stanford's objection is declared to be due to the fact that the reputation of the university for serious conservatism is impaired by the hasty acceptance of social and political fads, it is added, that these 'local criticisms' which weighed with Mrs. Stanford 'unfortunately are based on chance matters and *obiter dicta*, and not at all upon your serious work.' "

We have steadily maintained in these pages that the management of a university must have the final right to decide the general character of the instruction to be given in its name, and to maintain the educational standards it considers necessary to keep the institution in its proper place in the community. There is no

other source of authority by which such standards can be maintained. To insist that no control shall be exercised over the professors is to convert a university into a mouthpiece for the propagation of whatever fads or vagaries may happen to appeal to any of the individuals who have been included in its faculty. A university should no more permit professors of economics to teach any rash, untried, undigested notion that may have chanced to attract them than it should allow, for example, a professor of natural science to make the institution ridiculous by advocating the claims of the Keely motor as scientific proof of perpetual motion. If a professor wishes to propagate new and peculiar views he should do so outside of university walls, and not expect to utilize for that purpose the funds and prestige of an institution which is intended and expected to represent only the best consensus of well-developed opinion and thoroughly sustained data in each of its various departments.

At the same time, it is highly important that the control of a university be such that it does accurately reflect the best generally accepted sentiment of the time and not the prejudices or opinions of individuals who may have helped endow it. The latter unfortunately seems to be the case with Leland Stanford University. The offence seems all the more glaring because of the fact that Prof. Ross was unquestionably right in his position on coolie immigration, and that the only real objection to his attitude on that subject was the fact that Mrs. Stanford's husband made a portion of his fortune by importing Asiatics to work on his railroads. It is impossible for a university to be under the personal control of one or two individuals who have endowed it, and still maintain its standing as an independent educational force in the community. The management should be exercised by boards of trustees

—groups of men of broad general culture, sensible, conservative, and yet open-minded mentality, and a local interest in the welfare of the institution. This at least makes it reasonably certain that whatever control is exercised over the policy of the university will be the result of free discussion of the subject on its merits, by the trustees; and not the mere reflection of the personal feelings or grudges of some individual who may regard the institution as his or her personal property.

Education and
"Menial" Labor

The Chicago *Times-Herald*, in citing some interesting statistics of the large number of pupils in American colleges and universities, says in comment:

"Aside from all other considerations this general tendency toward education means one thing—labor in this country must be dignified socially. It is going to be impossible for all the boys and young men who are now in the schools and colleges to go into professions. Many of them will have to work with their hands. Manual labor will still have to be done even after everybody is educated.

"Perhaps the condition forecast by Bellamy—when those who work as laborers shall receive just as much consideration as men who get into the professions and shall be compensated for the sacrifices they make in taking what we now consider inferior places in society—is not so far away."

This hits the right nail and hits it squarely on the head. Regardless, for the time being, of the defects in Bellamy's plan for reaching a social condition where no labor shall be unhealthful or degrading, the idea itself is perfectly reasonable and will some day be realized. If the *Times-Herald* had been wandering in the medieval gloom that surrounds many eminent journals and economists who mistake cynical pessimism for profound wisdom, it would have followed up these quoted statistics by just the opposite conclusion. It would have solemnly pointed out that, since certain kinds of labor are degrading and exhausting, they must always remain so and hence that education be-

yond certain limits is a mistake. It would have pictured the misery of the masses who must forever be doomed to toil at these inferior tasks under the burden of an increasing repulsion due to the education and ambition and social desires thrust upon them by a mistaken public policy. Then it would have drawn a number of sage conclusions about the blessedness of contented ignorance for those to whom knowledge can never be anything but a curse. If it had happened to think of immigration, it would assuredly have finished up by pointing out the folly of excluding foreign peasant labor, and asked who could be expected to do the work these people perform if they are not allowed to come? Of course, since so much of the world's work must forever be unfit for civilized laborers, there is no way to get it done in an advanced country like ours except by importing people who have been properly prepared for it by wearing the yoke and doing the work of oxen and mules on the agricultural lands of southern and eastern Europe.

Fortunately, however, this is a phase of old-school economic teaching which is rapidly passing away, together with many other of its disheartening and utterly mistaken dogmas. What science and invention and humanitarian legislation have done for scores of other industrial pursuits, can and will be done for practically all departments of productive effort necessary in a civilized community. Indeed, from one point of view, industrial experience might be called the record of the transformation of degrading menial labor into healthful and agreeable occupations. A large part of the ancient drudgery of farm labor, for example, has been overcome in advanced industrial communities by the widespread introduction of labor-saving machinery in almost every department of agriculture. Mining has been robbed of its chief terrors and much of its excessive toil by the

use of safety appliances and large introduction of machinery. Factory labor, which less than a century ago involved fourteen to sixteen hours' work per day, with dangerous and unprotected machinery, brutal overseers, and criminally unsanitary conditions both of working and living, has now been brought within reasonable time limits, machinery protected, sanitary conditions secured, the labor of small children prohibited, and the whole occupation for the most part made decent, respectable and ordinarily healthful.

It is possible for this same movement to continue with reference to occupations which are now regarded as always and necessarily menial. The false notion that these tasks cannot be made decent is used as an argument, not only against universal higher education, but against a whole series of wholesale labor reforms such as shortening the hours of labor, improving the sanitary surroundings and broadening the general social opportunities; whereas, in reality, it is by stimulating these very sources of broader personal development that the proper economic forces will in turn be set in motion to abolish the exhausting and degrading features of tasks now reserved for imported peasants and coolies. The very discontent which education and improved social surroundings are certain to stimulate will show itself in demands for improved conditions and higher wages. This, of course, will mean a constantly increasing cost of labor, the certain result of which, as all industrial experience shows, will be to stimulate invention to furnish labor-saving devices which will economize some of this increased labor cost. Where there is nothing to provoke discontent with stultifying conditions of toil, as in China, there is no motive to develop any scientific methods of economizing human muscle.

The economic truth of the whole matter in a nut-

shell is that in the encouragement of education, increase of leisure to the workers, and extension of their social opportunities, lie the very forces necessary to raise the lower order of industries to a higher plane of economic efficiency which shall permit them to be decent, respectable and healthful. The harder it becomes to hire cheap and contented laborers for menial tasks, the faster will invention furnish means of abolishing the worst features of such employments by machinery and natural forces.

We are perfectly safe, therefore, in lending the most enthusiastic encouragement to general higher education and to every stimulating, inspiring and refining influence in the community, in the certainty that the economic consequences of all this can be relied upon to take care of themselves, and provide the means of elevating all industries by summoning nature to carry more and more of the burdens that men have heretofore carried on their own shoulders.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Conciseness Appreciated

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—If the standard of your magazine is kept up to the sample, no one need complain of the price. The concise manner in which you present history now being made in the world, especially in connection with the United States, will be appreciated by those with little time to spend in reading. I am one of them.

J. M. ORVIS, Des Moines, Iowa.

Organized Labor's Needs

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am glad to see Editor Cease's letter and article on the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in the March magazine, which shows us that among the railroad organizations there are those who appreciate sound logic and take a non-perverted view of economics as well as appreciate and understand the philosophy of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, recognizing its position as a factor in the capital-labor world as a publication which views matters in the light of truth and wisdom and understands that citizens have an equal right to organize for any legitimate purpose.

There are many sound, long and level heads in the railroad organizations who by their logic keep down the disposition and spirit of "vandalism" which destroys all that is good when it once gets the lead. But there is still a vast amount of educational work to be done in order to bring all good people around to the point of positive wisdom, when they will cease to advocate such abnormalities as: "All the products belong to labor," or, "Loss of opportunity to work is not an important factor; we want products rather than work"; or, "We find that there is no such a law of nature as that of no gain without loss."

Should the defamers of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE (of which there are a few in the woods) have the courage to overcome their repugnance or prejudices with reference to capital and have less needless sentiment with reference to humanity, they could see that GUNTON'S has no "corner" or "column" for the express purpose of catching the labor subscription, or that it does not advocate capitalistic methods out of deference for capitalistic patronage.

"Knowledge is power," and we find it out when we run up against the hard-headed and hard-fisted officials who will sit down and count the cost and bring forward economic arguments. The employee does not want to permit himself to be lassoed, but wants to be educated, so that when a committee goes for a conference they can talk business, and avoid being patted on the back, agreeing that the relations of both parties have always been amicable, and sent back empty-handed, not realizing how it was all done until they have slept and dreamed. Education, age, experience, and a clear head will gain more points than wild argument based on sentiment backed by a pugnacious attitude.

S. W. HILLER, Railroad Telegrapher,
Philadelphia, Pa.

QUESTION BOX

English Borough and County Franchise

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the article on Queen Victoria's reign, in your March number, you stated near the bottom of page 233 that the "second reform bill only extended the suffrage to householders in boroughs and established a ten-pound qualification for voting outside of counties." An American reader does not understand the political sub-divisions in England unless he has especially studied the subject, and your statement seems confusing.

G. R. P.

The statement about a "ten-pound qualification for voting outside of counties," may well be confusing, because it is not correct. It was a typographical error, and should have read "outside of boroughs, in counties."

The political divisions in England are boroughs and counties. For parliamentary purposes, a town is a borough if its population is large enough to entitle it to one member of parliament. Some boroughs have two members and there are a few that have three. The counties are very similar to counties in this country. They are simply larger political divisions, taking in the rural population. Mr. Gladstone, for instance, was elected once for northeast Lancashire and once for southeast Lancashire; those were county constituencies. Down to the third reform bill the franchise was always higher in the counties than in the boroughs, hence the counties had a more conservative voting population. Counties in the political sense include all the population outside of boroughs.

The second reform bill (1867) gave a vote to every

householder in the boroughs, that is, to every person who rented a house or housekeeping quarters, and a special provision was made for single men by inserting a lodger-franchise clause.

The third reform bill (1874) extended the household suffrage, previously limited to boroughs, to the counties, making the qualification for suffrage uniform throughout the country.

The Case of Professor Ross

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR:—I suppose you have noticed the logical outcome of your views in regard to limiting the freedom of college professors, as illustrated in the case of Professor Ross of Leland Stanford University. Mrs. Stanford owns the institution and, as I interpret your position, has therefore an absolute right to employ professors who will teach what she orders. Professor Ross is sacrificed, therefore, because he opposes Chinese immigration, and Mrs. Stanford thinks this is a reflection on her husband, who made money by hiring these coolies. If this sort of thing only goes far enough our young men will lose all respect whatever for anything that is taught them on economic questions in American universities.

W. D. P.

In universities, as in everything else, the law of evolution tends to promote the "survival of the fittest." Universities, like most other institutions, represent the consensus of opinion on the vital subjects affecting social life. When they cease to do that they are very likely to cease to receive the support either of those who furnish the financial maintenance or those who furnish the students. With reference to socialism and other theories directed to the perversion or overthrow

of the existing order of society, it may be said they are not desired either by those who furnish the money or those who furnish the students for our universities. When there is a demand for such teachings among either those who endow or those who attend universities, new institutions will come into existence or else existing ones will come to teach those doctrines.

The case of Stanford University is nearly opposite. The importation of Chinese coolies, especially under the conditions established by the six Chinese companies, is opposed by the best sentiment of the best people in all classes throughout the country. It is supported by no principle of fair business, public policy or political science. That was an experience which would not again be tolerated by any state or by the United States. It is as obnoxious to the principles of free labor and modern economic conditions as is the system of slavery itself. If Mrs. Stanford really removed Professor Ross from the Leland Stanford Jr. University because he opposed Chinese immigration she placed herself in antagonism to the best thought of the nation, and her act will find no defence in any quarter. It is very much as if she had removed Professor Ross because he taught that slavery was wrong and should nowhere be tolerated. In short, if this be true, she has brought discredit upon herself and to that extent upon Stanford University, and if she continues in this course, insisting that the doctrine of cheap-labor and importation of degraded Asiatics should be encouraged in this country, she will soon create effective ostracism of her university and destroy the public appreciation of her husband's generosity in giving his millions to establish that educational institution.

BOOK REVIEWS

ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY. For Secondary Schools. By Henry W. Thurston. Scott, Foresman & Company, Chicago, Cloth, 300 pp.

It has long been a question of growing importance how to introduce the study of economics in secondary schools. Mr. Thurston has endeavored to solve the problem in the present volume. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the book is the effort to make the student study the subject from his own experience or that of his neighbor; as, for instance, taking some industry, large or small, that is being conducted in his own neighborhood. Part I. is devoted exclusively to this. The author's claim for originality in this particular may be granted, so far as text-books are concerned; yet the work laid out and the manner of the laying out would seem to be more fitted for post-graduate students than for students in secondary schools.

Part II. is given to "Outlines of the Industrial History of England and the United States." In many respects this is excellently done. The description of the manor and other medieval institutions and conditions is very lucid and suggestive, but frequently too meager, it would seem, for the unread student. The accounts of the domestic period of industry and of the factory period are excellent. There is enough citation of fact to make it interesting as well as instructive. In the opening of his chapter on the factory period, he gives a nearly complete list of the inventions covering the factory system in textile manufacture. References to other authors are ample but altogether beyond the capacity of under-graduate students to pursue.

The third part is devoted to the elements of economic theory, and even this is composed nearly as much of questions as of statement. Certainly the author cannot be charged with representing too strongly any school of economic theory, for he hardly dwells long enough on any point to deliver a constructive idea. On wages, for instance, it would be difficult to ascertain what the author's ideas are, and, for that matter, the ideas of anybody else. On the question of rent the chief point is the explanation of Henry George's idea of "unearned increment," and the author says:

"From this point of view, then, there is one direct line of study and thinking which will lead toward a knowledge of what single-taxers and socialists think ought to be done."

He then quotes a long extract from the report of the Illinois Labor Bureau (1894) showing how a quarter of an acre of land in Chicago rose in value from twenty dollars in 1830 to a million and a quarter in 1894. He touches questions like "the eight-hour day" and the tariff with an evident intent of impartiality. On the eight-hour day, for instance, the author suggests the importance of leisure to the laborers, the social significance of opportunity for seeing new things, studying art, visiting public libraries, acquiring better tastes and so broadening the social life of the laborer, but the feasibility of the eight-hour day he presents only from the side of production. Can the laborer "produce as much in eight hours as in ten or twelve," is the question. The suggested answer given to this is that where the laborers cannot for any reason produce as much in the shorter as in the longer day, the workman must determine whether he is willing to sacrifice something in wages for the sake of greater leisure and social satisfaction. This is purely the employer's answer, not the answer of the statesman or social philosopher. If that

were to be the determining reason, the hours of labor would almost never be shortened in the crude hand-labor industries, because in all such industries the shortening of the day below a certain point will for a time at least lessen the output, and unless it proportionately reduces the wages it will increase the cost of production, and, if no reduction in the hours of labor can come economically without lessening the output or even increasing the price, then in all these industries the working day can never be shortened.

Practice based on such reasoning would doom the laborers in that group of industries to be excluded from most of the benefits of invention and civilization. In the broad sociological point of view, the laborer is more important than the product, and if a shorter working day would add to his social opportunities and the development of a broader character and higher standard of life and citizenship, that is eminently the thing to be done, even though it lessens the output and increases the cost of the product. As a matter of fact, that is what has taken place during the entire century as a part of the economic progress. The public policy in this matter cannot be tested by its effect upon the product of each particular industry, but rather upon the product of industries in general.

For instance, in the progress of invention, machinery has been applied to a very large number of industries, so that the output has been multiplied many fold and the cost greatly reduced. In certain other industries machinery has not been, and in the nature of things cannot be, applied but to a limited extent. In these industries the hand-labor or slow methods must needs prevail. With the increased wages and reduced hours commensurate with the general growth of civilization, the cost of production has actually been increased and in those industries the prices of the products have

risen, but, taking all industries together, the economy where machinery has been used has more than offset the increased cost where machinery could not be used, and consequently the whole community is benefited. If this were not the case, only those laborers would get the benefit of civilization who happened to work in industries where machinery could be applied. That is why the laborers who work with highly improved machinery do not get increased wages proportionate to the increased output. The benefit of that increased output and machinery should in equity, and does, go to the whole community, so that those laborers who work in non-machine using industries are given a share in the gain as well as those who work with the new machines. And, conversely, the community must pay a little more for the product of the laborers working in non-machine using industries in order that they may have the benefit of the advancing wages and shortened hours demanded by the general progress of society.

Mr. Thurston's presentation of the tariff question, while not at all partisan, lacks philosophic suggestion. The idea that the character of a nation largely depends on the nature of its industrial occupations, and that diversified and urbanizing industries have an altogether different social effect upon the people than rural extractive industries, has no recognition; yet this is the basic principle by which protective legislation should be determined. Although the author brings out no suggestion of constructive principle, he is entirely free from that cynical sneering at the tariff that is characteristic of many text-books. The book is well written and bears the evidence of painstaking effort throughout. Whether it is adapted for secondary schools must be tested by experience, but it is a book that may be read with interest by advanced students. It contains a great deal of valuable data, a good index, and a brief but

excellent general introduction by Professor Small of Chicago University.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

The Story of Rome. By Norwood Young. Illustrated by Nelly Erichsen. Cloth extra, gilt top, 16 mo. 403 pp., \$1.75. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Cornell Studies in Philosophy. The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. By Grace Neal Dolson, A. B. Paper, 8 vo, 110 pp., 75 cents net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The History of South Carolina in the Revolution 1775-1780. By Edward McCrady, LL.D., author of "The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government," etc. Cloth, gilt top, 8vo, 899 pp., \$3.50, net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Reflections on the Origin and Destiny of Imperial Britain. By J. A. Cramb, M. A., professor of modern history, Queens College, London. Cloth, gilt top, crown 8vo, 315 pp., \$2.50. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Government of Minnesota. Its History and Administration. By Frank L. McVey, Ph. D., professor of economics in the University of Minnesota. Cloth, 236 pp., 75 cents. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Introductory Lessons in English Literature. By I. C. McNeill, president of the seventh Wisconsin state normal school, and S. A. Lynch, teacher of English in the central high school, Superior, Wisconsin. Cloth, 12mo, 376 pp., \$1. American Book Company, New York. Illustrated.

Australasia the Commonwealth and New Zealand. By Arthur W. Jose. Cloth, 18mo, 164 pp., 40 cents, net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

FROM MARCH MAGAZINES

"In the case of the Irish and the Germans, their roots have struck deep into the soil; what New York might have become without them it were idle to guess. They cannot be absolved from their share of responsibility for the evils that have grown upon us. In particular, the Irish have written a chapter of corruption and misrule upon the city's records. In other cities, it is only fair to say, native Americans have done the same. But in New York the Irishman's superiority in the domain of ward politics has been unquestioningly accepted by the other populations, and the fabric that has arisen is his own handiwork. Beauty and refinement have not entered very largely into its composition; where is the political machine that can show us beauty or refinement? But before condemning it utterly, let us remember one essential fact which, if not in its present favor, at least holds out a hope for the future,—namely, that it springs from the people."—J. K. PAULDING, in "A Plea for New York;" *Atlantic Monthly* (February).

"Nearly four months have elapsed since election and there has been not only no appreciable progress in establishing civil government in the Philippines, but no indication that the majority in congress realize that the country has a right to expect from them a definite Philippine programme. While the lives of volunteer American soldiers have been in deadly peril, congress has been debating the details of a shipping subsidy bill. What is still worse, the country has been deceived as to the plain facts of the Philippine situation. The reports of generals in the field, the finding of the two commissions, the messages of the president, the speeches of recognized leaders of the party, contain absolutely

irreconcilable statements. Ours is a government by opinion. But how is the public-spirited citizen to learn the truth about the most elementary facts concerning the Filipinos, such as their tribal relations, the extent to which they use a common language, the state of popular education and political intelligence, and the territorial limits of their present rebellion against the United States? Even upon fundamental questions like these, our newspapers and magazines are as confused and contradictory as any intelligence given out by the administration. Are the revolutionists 'a few disaffected Tagalogs,' or are we encountering the patriotic resistance of a practically united people? Every American voter has a right to the possession of these facts, provided the facts are known at Washington. If they are not known at Washington, they ought to be."—*The Atlantic Monthly*.

In Great Britain . . . an agricultural implement works makes road engines, threshers, mowers and reapers, cultivators, and a variety of small farm tools. But when they put any one of their machines into the field, they meet a Chicago made article which is laid down on the spot at a less price than that for which the British firm can hope to simply produce it. The Chicago manufacturer builds a vast works to make nothing but mowers and binders. One concern employs thousands of men on threshing machines and road engines to haul them, while still other large factories make the cultivators, drills, etc. Machines turned out by tens of thousands, instead of thousands, can be made in greater perfection and at materially lower cost, even if all other factors are uniform. But if cheaper raw materials, more efficient labour, better management, and more up-to-date works be added, the transatlantic competitor of America is, indeed, facing a difficult proposition."—ARCHER BROWN, in "American Competition in the World's Engineering Trades;" *Cassier's Magazine*.



CHARLES M. SCHWAB

President of the United States Steel Corporation

(Courtesy of "The World's Work")

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

A Crucial Time for Labor

The larger and more widespread industrial concentration becomes, the more important it is that organized labor should develop correspondingly in strength, influence and high quality of leadership. It is not one whit less essential that a "stable equilibrium" of economic power be maintained among the various factors that share in the distribution of wealth than that these same factors be organized to the point of greatest efficiency in the production of this wealth. Indeed, from the broad social standpoint, there is no justification for the concentration of capital unless the resulting benefits extend to the community in general, which means chiefly the wage-earners, because more than three-quarters of the population is in the wage- or salary-receiving class.

This sharing with the community of the advantages of combination comes through several channels. Of course the more important are lower prices, higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions of the laborers. The lower prices come about either through the normal force of competition or as a result of the profit-making superiority of a large market over a small one. But the higher wages depend chiefly, and at bottom almost entirely, upon the pressure that can be exerted by the workers,—the success with which they can insist upon increased remuneration to maintain higher standards of living along with the enlarging

production of wealth. This ability to compel a just distribution of wealth is even more a matter of organization among the laborers than ability to produce cheaply is a matter of organization among the capitalists. Therefore, if those who are wasting time and strength in denouncing "trusts" as the great menace to American workingmen, would exert themselves to encourage, advise and secure recognition for organized labor, they would really do something practical for economic justice, industrial peace and stability.

Just at this moment, when the greatest industrial consolidation in the world's history has been consummated, it is of crucial importance that no point be lost in maintaining and advancing the proper status of organized labor. If a serious effort were to be made to break down labor organization or restrict the freedom of laborers to unite for mutual advantage and protection, by discharging men for belonging to unions, the whole American people would have an interest in seeing that any such undertaking met with the most determined and widespread resistance.

**Coal Strike
Forestalled**

Fortunately all signs at present point away from any such disastrous tendency.

In three very important instances lately, serious strikes have been averted by a mutual attitude of conciliation and conference, indicating a reasonable disposition on the part of the corporations and a spirit of willingness to "make haste slowly" on the part of the employees. Late in March there were prospects of a great strike in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, over the wage scale for the coming year, and other matters. A party of labor leaders, headed by Father Phillips who was instrumental in settling the strike last fall, came to New York to confer with Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan as the representative of the con-

trolling financial interests in the coal corporations and coal-carrying railroads. Mr. Morgan met and conferred with Father Phillips, and it is believed that a private conference was held with some of the labor men themselves, including Mr. John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers' Association. Whether this latter meeting actually took place or not, the result of the negotiations was practically equivalent to recognition of the mine workers' association. Assurances were given that the present advanced wage rates would be continued another year at least, and the executive committee of the miners' association has since given out a statement showing that, if the unions can prove their ability to control their men and abstain from engaging in local strikes during the present year, they are practically assured of "full and complete recognition." The committee adds that, while "we were unable to secure all the concessions we hoped for and believe we are justly entitled to, we are of the opinion that the willingness of the various coal companies to receive committees representing mine workers for the adjudication of grievances records an important advance step in the right direction and presages more harmonious and equitable relations between employers and employees than have prevailed in the anthracite region heretofore."

**Important
Railroad Strike
Averted**

Another threatened labor dispute of still more recent origin has just reached equally satisfactory settlement. This was on the Central Railroad of New Jersey, and the demands of the men were for increased wages, limitation of the length of a day's "run," etc. As in almost every other labor dispute where the company does not recognize the labor union, the trouble soon centered round the issue of whether the railroad officials would

treat with committees representing the men or insist upon dealing with the employees individually. The efforts of the men to get a hearing for their committee were at first unsuccessful, but when a strike seemed imminent the vice-president of the company instructed the general superintendent and division superintendent to meet and confer with the committee and if possible adjust the grievances. This concession to reasonableness did what it always may be counted upon to do in similar cases,—brought out the quality of reasonableness likewise in the other party, and in the resulting conference points were yielded on both sides and a strike averted. Some of the demands of the men were granted and others postponed for further discussion. Recognition of the employees' committee cost the company nothing, saved it a costly strike, and will undoubtedly gain it much in renewed harmony of relations and more faithful service from its men. Here, once more, the psychological influence of a just and friendly attitude counted for more than a full concession of the wage and other demands would have done, if coupled with refusal to recognize the employees' committee.

**Reinstatement
Ends Steel Strike**

Of still greater concern, with respect to possible developments, than either the coal or the railroad controversies was the strike in one of the plants of the American Sheet Steel Company at McKeesport, Pennsylvania. No question of wages or hours seems to have been involved in this contest, but solely the issue of the men's right to join a union. Seven men were discharged from the McKeesport works, presumably because they had joined a newly formed lodge of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and, on April 15th, about half the employees went on strike. It was declared by President Shaffer, of the association, that

unless these men were reinstated a strike would be ordered in every plant of the United States Steel Corporation, of which the American Sheet Steel Company is a part. The controversy lasted several days, and the company, while refusing to recognize the union, nevertheless did what amounted to the same thing in sending Mr. John Jarrett as a special representative to the meetings of the amalgamated association to argue the company's case and make propositions. Another important conciliatory influence entered the contest in the person of Colonel G. W. French, vice-president of the Republic Iron and Steel Company, who volunteered to act somewhat in the capacity of mediator between the sheet steel company and the union. Finally, on April 18th, Mr. Jarrett appeared before the executive board of the amalgamated association in Pittsburg and offered to reinstate all the discharged men except one, who was to be suspended ten days, which was afterward reduced by agreement to three days. The following agreement was drawn up and signed by President Shaffer and Secretary Williams of the amalgamated association, and Mr. Jarrett for the sheet steel company:

"We have discovered, after a careful examination of the points at issue that, as usual, mistakes and misunderstandings underlie the trouble at McKeesport, and we reach the conclusion that it will be to the advantage of all parties concerned to start the Wood mill with the old employees on next Monday, April 22, 1901.

"And it is further agreed that the contract with reference to working conditions in the mill and scale matters shall be observed until July 1, 1901, and in the mean time Mr. Smith and Mr. Holloway shall have a meeting to adjust any difficulty which may exist between them."

We quote this agreement merely to show that, although the company refused to recognize the local union at McKeesport, it practically recognized organized labor by treating with the amalgamated association and submitting propositions to it. Indeed, this is even more significant than a conference with the local

union would have been, since the latter included some of the company's own employees, while the general association only indirectly represented them.

The outcome of these controversies is most encouraging. It gives evidence that the increasing organization of capital, instead of "crushing out" labor, is actually tending to make the pathway of industrial peace smoother. The fact is, these giant consolidations cannot afford to engage in costly labor contests. The number of employees is so large that if they should all go on strike it would be almost impossible to replace them, at least not until after enormous losses. This fact has already shown itself in practical experience to such an extent that prominent labor leaders frequently declare that they prefer to treat with these large establishments than with petty corporations or small business firms. The normal progress of industrial organization, both of capital and labor, will do away with the black list and hounding of labor unions, while preserving the economic advantages of competition, concentration and expert specialization in productive methods; thus accomplishing by the natural economic process the very thing that radical "reformers" would have us believe can come only by arbitrary legislation, designed to revolutionize our industrial and social institutions.

**Ramapo Charter
Repealed**

It is always a pleasure to commend good conduct, and especially when found in unexpected quarters. The action of the New York legislature on the Ramapo scandal is one of these exceptional occasions for unqualified praise.

On March 12th and 14th, respectively, the assembly and senate passed the bill repealing the Ramapo Water Company's charter, and on the 19th Governor Odell signed the measure. Except for a possible con-

test in the courts over the constitutionality of the repeal, this ends the long struggle of New York city to regain the extraordinary privileges granted to the Ramapo Company six years ago. The good work is made more complete by the passage of laws enabling New York city to condemn lands for watersheds and to increase its debt limit for the purposes of additional water supply. The debt-limit law, however, is in reality an amendment to the constitution and will have to be repassed by another legislature and submitted to the people before it can go into effect.

**New York City
Charter Revision**

Excess of virtue sometimes brings reaction to the opposite extreme. Apparently the legislature believed that by repealing the Ramapo charter it would get a reputation sufficient to cover many sins; at least, this is a reasonable deduction from its handling of the New York charter revision problem. The bill embodying the recommendations of the charter-revision commission, appointed last year, was passed, with numerous amendments, early in April, and sent to the mayor of New York city for approval or disapproval, according to the routine required by law. The intent of the revision measure was to remedy the defects in the greater New York charter as brought out by experience, and in general to simplify and concentrate authority in both the legislative and executive departments of the city government. It was proposed among other things to abolish the two houses of the municipal assembly (28 councilmen and 61 aldermen), and substitute a board of aldermen of 120 members; give the mayor the power to remove heads of departments throughout his entire term instead of for only a limited period at the beginning, as now; abolish the board of public improvements, department of sewers, department of highways,

department of buildings, department of public buildings, lighting and supplies; and transfer the functions of these boards chiefly to the respective borough presidents; increase the powers of the board of estimate and apportionment and give it eight members instead of five as now, the members to have graded voting power as follows: the mayor, controller, and president of the board of aldermen, three votes each; presidents of the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, two votes each; presidents of the boroughs of the Bronx, Queens and Richmond, one vote each; abolish the bi-partisan police commission and substitute a single police commissioner; establish a board of elections of four members, appointed by the mayor; and take away from the heads of departments the power to fix salaries.

Most of these changes were real improvements, but by the time the revised charter had gone through the legislature it was loaded down with "job" amendments designed to make the distribution of political spoils easy and prolong the grip of the "bosses" on the city government. Such, for example, was the provision that city magistrates shall be appointed by the mayor in Manhattan borough but elected (and their number increased) from specially arranged districts in Brooklyn borough, while only in Manhattan need these magistrates be lawyers; the provision authorizing the board of education to appropriate school funds for the support of private schools; the provision appropriating \$160,000 a year for printing official notices, etc., in daily newspapers of the two leading political parties in the boroughs of the Bronx, Queens and Richmond,—papers which could be brought into existence solely on the strength of this booty and officially "designated" to receive it by the party committees in the boroughs named.

Mayor Van Wyck vetoed the revision measure but

it has been repassed by the legislature by almost a strict party vote,—the republicans for and the democrats against it; and signed by the governor. Just before the adjournment of the legislature, additional measures were passed, weeding out some of the offensive amendments referred to, especially the printing appropriation and “private school” schemes. But the people cannot and will not forget that the attempt was made, at first successfully, and only defeated by a storm of public indignation, to foist this series of offensive jobs on the municipality. Already, the moral effect has injured the prospects of a good-government victory in the coming municipal election, because it has been made clear that, once given power and a sufficient temptation, the republican organization in this state and city is quite as capable of corruption as Tammany itself.

**Capture of
Aguinaldo**

The taking prisoner of Emilio Aguinaldo on March 23rd is the most notable occurrence in the Philippine warfare, since the outbreak of hostilities in February, 1899. Undoubtedly the power of the Filipino leader had declined during the last year, but he was still the most conspicuous personage among the hostile natives and wielded a considerable influence even where his authority was no longer recognized. He was not taken in open conflict, but as the result of a rather dubious exploit planned and executed by General Funston, who has since been made a brigadier general in the regular army in special recognition of this service. Funston's success was made possible by the treachery of four of Aguinaldo's former officers, who guided the party to the Filipino camp at Palanan, near the east coast of Luzon and north of Manila. Funston took with him four American officers and a party of about eighty Macabebes, the latter dressed as Filipino soldiers and

laborers. Word was sent to Aguinaldo, by the help of insurgents who were deceived by the uniforms, that a body of Filipino soldiers had captured five Americans and were now bringing them to his headquarters. Along with this information, and to assist in the deception, Funston sent two forged letters addressed to Aguinaldo and purporting to come from the Filipino general Lacuna, whose camp with official papers, seals, etc., had been captured by our troops some time previously.

Aguinaldo was completely deceived and even sent out supplies to the approaching party, with orders to treat the American prisoners kindly. When the Macabebes, led by the four Filipino traitors and ostensibly conveying the five Americans as prisoners, got within Aguinaldo's camp, they suddenly opened fire and took the Filipino leader prisoner. The party then marched to Palanan Bay and were brought back to Manila on the Vicksburg. Aguinaldo, recognizing the hopelessness of the Filipino cause, has since taken the oath of allegiance to the United States and prepared an address to his people, advising them to give up the struggle and incidentally trying to justify his own recantation by declaring that the policy of peace through surrender has already been "joyfully" accepted by the majority of his countrymen.

**Moral Aspect of
Funston's Exploit**

The method by which this "master-stroke" was accomplished has been fiercely assailed and stoutly defended, and of the controversy as a whole it may be said that while the criticisms have been made on moral grounds the defence has been almost uniformly upon technical grounds. The old cynicism: "All is fair in war" has been made to do such noisy duty in this case that in the din one might almost forget that with the moral progress

of civilization it was long ago established that all is *not* fair in war. Some of the more intolerable things have even found their way into codes of international agreement, and among them is the prohibition of the use of an enemy's uniform to deceive him. Professor Theodore S. Woolsey, of Yale University, in a recent contribution to the *Outlook*, speaks of this practice as prohibited not only by the Hague Conference of 1899, but by the Oxford Code of the Institute of International Law, and by the Brussels Code of 1875. Prof. Woolsey's justification of Funston's act is that Aguinaldo's army and government were not recognized by any civilized power and hence not entitled to the rights of belligerents. In fighting them," he says, "in turn the United States is not bound by rules which are only binding reciprocally when the other party observes them also." In other words, my neighbor and I may agree not to cheat each other, but remain perfectly free to cheat a third party if we do not choose to give that third party the opportunity to pledge himself not to cheat us.

The importance of discussing the moral bearing of Funston's exploit, confessedly a daring and clever one in itself, lies in its effect upon our standards of justice and quality of ethical thinking here at home. To us, Prof. Woolsey's argument seems wonderfully like the old Hebrew notion of morality, which required a Jew to observe strict justice towards other Jews but permitted him to "spoil" the stranger whenever he could lay hands upon him. The international code of warfare was adopted upon the broadest moral and humanitarian considerations, but it would seem now that civilization is not even morally obligated to observe it towards others who would gladly accept it and actually do observe it, but only towards those whom it chooses to "recognize" as entitled to the benefit of moral law.

Logically carried out, this interpretation would permit a civilized country to practice against "unrecognized" enemies any of the gross offenses forbidden by the code. Prof. Woolsey says: No, the rules of humanity must still govern. But why? Certainly not because the code makes any distinction between the different kinds of outrage or perfidy it forbids. If "humanity" must govern our relations, what are the things humanity enforces upon us? Who is to decide? As we have said, it was upon principles of humanity and morality that every provision of the international code was based, and if any of them apply to unrecognized governments they ought all so to apply. Warfare at best is a carnival of barbarities and immoralities, and the code only pretends to cover the more glaring and despicable outrages against common humanity and fairness. If these are too bad to be tolerated against recognized belligerents they are too bad to be tolerated against any military body which is willing to and does refrain from these acts on its own part.

Even Prof. Woolsey admits that the rules of the international code should be binding upon one party "when the other party observes them also," whether that other party is a recognized belligerent or not. There is no evidence that the Filipinos have been less observant of these rules than our own forces; on the contrary, it is matter of record that they have conducted an orderly warfare, and shown a degree of consideration and humanity in the treatment of American prisoners which might have been copied with considerable profit by some of the "civilized" powers in their dealings with the Chinese during the last few months. General Funston's method cannot be justified on the ground of Filipino perfidy, and therefore, if Prof. Woolsey is right, it is not clear how it can be justified at all.

Moreover, our own general, MacArthur, as recently as December 20th last, issued a proclamation to all inhabitants of the islands, whether in arms or not, commanding them to observe all the "laws of war" and quoting several provisions from the international code. As the *Springfield Republican* observes:

"What of the legality—after all a mere husk—of setting up a code of laws for your enemy to follow and then violating them yourself, in the most deliberate style, at the first opportunity?

**Our Philippine
Policy Henceforth**

Of course, indefensible and even dishonorable acts must be expected occasionally under conditions so peculiar, but when we begin seriously to justify all this and accept it as a part of our customary and excusable way of doing things it is a grave misfortune and points to a relaxation of moral backbone and gradual drift towards the cynical spirit of: "Whatever succeeds is right." If this republic should lose its grip on the high principles wrought into its very foundations, it will decline from its long-maintained position of moral leadership and come to be reckoned with simply as one more commercialized factor. Its influence, if that time arrives, will be estimated in advance according to its probable interest or share in new fields of trade or conquest rather than by its disinterested love of fairness or devotion to the rights of man.

Much as our public opinion ought to deplore the fact that Aguinaldo was not taken in an open, straightforward way, it is far better for all concerned that the Filipino resistance is finally brought so near its end. The administration was determined not to offer any hope of future independence, and therefore peace could not have been restored except by some such conclusive stroke as this. Probably the road will soon be clear for determining our future political relations to the islands, free from the distracting effects of an ac-

tive military problem. Neither the capture of Aguinaldo, nor the possible ending of hostilities which may soon follow, will alter the fact that our highest duty toward these people and toward ourselves is to prepare them for independent self-government at some future time and not make them an integral part of the United States. The Filipinos, whether in rebellion or in submission, are equally unsuited to become governing units in a free democracy of Anglo-Saxon people of the highest social and intellectual status in the world. They may, however, attain capacity for independent self-government fitted to their own needs and peculiarities, and it is to this end that our policy ought to be directed, with them no less than with the Cubans, whom Admiral Dewey emphatically declared inferior to the Filipinos in several important respects.

The Peace Proposals in South Africa However well-deserved General Kitchener's military reputation may be, he is earning no fresh laurels of consequence in the South African campaign. DeWet is not only still at large but continues to raid the British in unexpected quarters, capture occasional squads of men and carry off supplies. Nevertheless, it has been reported frequently of late that the hopelessness of his cause has driven DeWet to the verge of insanity, so that he is mentally irresponsible for his acts. Possibly on account of this, General Botha, commanding the remnants of the Transvaal army, has been growing more and more anxious for peace, and on February 27th he met General Kitchener in conference. The terms offered to the Boers included amnesty for all *bona fide* acts of war, return of Boer prisoners from St. Helena and Ceylon, establishment of civil administration and later of a representative government, establishment of a high court independent of the executive,

non-molestation of land, church property, trusts and orphan funds, teaching of the English and Dutch languages, payment of Boer debts to the amount of £1,000,000 even if contracted during the war, and limitation of the franchise rights of the Kaffirs when such rights are extended to them under the future representative government. To this was added subsequently an offer to lend money to the Boers for rebuilding houses and restocking farms, and a proposition that in the new government to be established there would be a council including some of the prominent Boer leaders.

General Botha rejected these terms, for just what reasons is not clearly known, but the chief is believed to have been his determined opposition to having Sir Alfred Milner made governor of the Transvaal, which was understood to be a part of the British program. If there is really nothing more serious than this in the way, a common basis for peace will probably be found before many weeks, covering at least the Transvaal situation, whether DeWet can be persuaded to surrender or not.

**Manchuria Saved
to China**

Early in April the Chinese government formally declined to accept the treaty proposed by Russia regarding Manchuria. The expressed opposition of England, the United States and Japan to the signing of any such treaty is undoubtedly what encouraged China to take this action, and on the other hand prevented Russia from trying to force it upon China by threats of punishment. At the time the three protests referred to were made it was not clearly understood just what the Manchuria treaty contained, and, even though Russia has since explained that it was simply to provide for maintaining peace in the province until Russian troops could be withdrawn, the net effect would probably have been prolonged Russian occupa-

tion and steady growth of Russian influence, leading towards a protectorate if not annexation at some future date. It is gratifying to note that our own government did not heed the clamor against taking any further action in the Chinese negotiations, but consistently acted on the theory that, having shared the responsibility of invading China, we could not properly withdraw until we had fully discharged our share of the obligations growing out of that action. We have definitely taken a stand for the "open door" in China, have so declared ourselves to the powers, and could not with self-respect withdraw from that position at the first sign of a dispute over it. The "open door," as opposed to dismemberment, is the cause not only of civilization but of justice to China. To stand firmly for this cause is one of the most creditable things, in foreign policy, that our government has an opportunity of doing, at present, anywhere.

**The Question of
Indemnities**

Another and no less creditable thing is for our government to stand out against the efforts of some of the powers to extort absurd indemnities (fully \$500,000,000) from China for the Boxer outrages of last year. Payment should be made, and ample payment, sufficient to serve as a lasting warning against any more such offenses, but to demand more than five times as much as a liberal estimate of all the damages and expenses would amount to, including the losses of the missionaries, simply because China is helpless and cannot resist, is unworthy of Christendom, and is the more offensive because the burden will fall in the shape of heavy additional taxation on the whole poverty-stricken Chinese population, the great majority of whom had nothing whatever to do with the Boxer uprisings. The total revenues of the empire are estimated to amount to only about \$65,000,-

000 per year. Of course, the innocent members of a community always have to share in the payment of just penalties for offences committed by any portion of it, but, when the penalty demanded is exorbitant and oppressive, the misfortune of the innocent majority becomes a moral problem which the claimants cannot dodge merely by appealing to the technicalities of "national responsibility."

It may be urged that no sum is too large for the human lives lost in China, but it is a recognized principle of equity that when damages are being collected from a community or organization for offences committed by some of its members the penalty, which is to fall alike upon the innocent and guilty, must be within reasonable limits. It is upon this manifestly just principle that the limit of damages which may be collected from a railroad company in many of our states, for the killing of a human being, is fixed at \$5,000, although from the standpoint of the relatives and friends no conceivable sum of money would have been accepted in exchange for that person's life. If there was criminal carelessness, the full penalty for manslaughter may be visited only upon the one directly guilty. As a matter of fact, no money indemnity is adequate reparation for the taking of a human life, and, in the case of China, the chief reparation exacted might much better take the form of such measures and concessions as will guarantee future peace with freedom of industry and protection of individual rights.

Russia demands \$90,000,000, France \$65,000,000, and Germany \$60,000,000, for military expenses alone, exclusive of penalties quite as large or larger for the losses of life and property suffered by missionaries and others in China. The fact that England demands only \$22,500,000, and the United States \$25,000,000 with an offer to reduce this one-half if the others will do the

same, throws some light on the probable reasonableness of the Russian, French and German claims. It should be remembered that these demands are not of the character of war indemnities, such as Germany exacted from France in 1870. There has been no "war" between the powers and the Chinese government; no declarations of war were made and no ministers recalled. Although the circumstances were extraordinary and aggravated, these claims for indemnity are really of the same sort that governments frequently present to each other for outrages committed against the citizens or property of the one within the borders of the other. Such claims are always supposed to be reckoned on some reasonable estimate of the actual losses incurred. In the present case the powers must also be remunerated for having had to take the place of the Chinese government in protecting foreign interests in China and restoring order, but this does not alter the principle of the case; and, if the dispute were between two European countries instead of between Christendom and China, no other basis of settlement would be tolerated. It is to be hoped that the United States at least will take no part in a policy which can only convince the "heathen" Chinaman that the Christianity long preached to him by western missionaries simmers itself down in practical experience to the doctrine of: "Might makes right."

SOME COOPERATIVE MEN AND THINGS IN ENGLAND

NICHOLAS PAINE GILMAN, EDITOR "THE NEW WORLD"

I was in Europe some six months of last year, and as my interest in labor questions is deep I improved as many opportunities as were open to me to observe cooperation as it is. Without making an exhaustive study, which was out of the question, I saw a number of men and institutions that are doubtless attractive to the readers of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, and I will therefore report of them briefly.

An American advocate of profit-sharing naturally makes his way in London, first of all, perhaps, to the headquarters of the Labour Association "for promoting cooperative production based on the copartnership of the workers," at No. 15 Southampton Row, Holborn, not far from the British Museum. Needless to say, he will meet there a cordial reception from Mr. Henry Vivian, the energetic secretary of the association. Mr. Vivian is a self-made man, as we say here, but not one of those who worship their maker with too profound an adoration. A graduate of the factory, he has a mind of much natural force and speaks with a simplicity and directness that commend his well-reasoned addresses on his favorite subject to a working-class audience as well as to persons who have had what is called a liberal education. He has a thorough command of the logic and the facts of profit-sharing, and is a persuasive apostle of its gospel. *Labour Copartnership*, the excellent monthly organ of the association, keeps standing at the head of each number a short statement, "To New Readers," of the principle in industry for which it contends, "and of the

progress which has been made in the application of it . . . we advocate the copartnership, that is, the equal partnership, of labour with capital, the system under which, in the first place, a substantial and known share of the profit of a business belongs to the workers in it, not by right of any shares they may hold, or any other title, but simply by right of the labour they have contributed to make the profit; and . . . every worker is at liberty to invest his profit, or savings, in shares of the society or company, and so become a member entitled to vote on the affairs of the body which employs him. This system is no mere dream. It is already carried out by British productive businesses which at the end of 1899 (statistics for Ireland are given separately) numbered 102, had a capital of £1,285,339; sold in the year £2,476,216 worth of goods; made a net profit of £135,100 (after deducting losses); and paid to labour, in addition to provident funds, a sum not easily ascertained, but exceeding £19,000, as labour's share of the results over and above standard wages. In some the part of labour, whether in profit or in management, is smaller, and in some larger, but in all there is copartnership." *

This brief statement will suffice to denote the position, both logical and self-consistent, it appears to me,

*These figures of capital and sales refer, it should be remembered by readers of cooperative literature, to productive cooperation in which the principle of profit-sharing is recognized. In the last report of the Central Board of the Cooperative Union, made at Cardiff, June 4, 1900, the "returns relating to cooperative production" give the total capital employed in Great Britain for 1899 as £2,539,013, the sales during the year as £5,729,349, the profit as £307,725 and the loss as £4,842. But these figures include the large factories and flour mills of the English Wholesale Society and some other minor productive enterprises, which do not give a bonus to labor, but only to the shareholder and the consumer. The figures of the Labour Association, on the other hand, include the Scottish Wholesale Society, which recognizes the copartnership principle.

of those Englishmen and Scotchmen who are co-operators in fact as well as in name, if the name means "working together" on the principle of equality and sharing the results. The membership of the labour association includes, as the observer from abroad will quickly see from running over the list, the vast majority (if it is not almost a monopoly) of those who claim to be the "thinkers" in the general cooperative movement in Great Britain. The authorities of the English Wholesale Society and their sympathizers on this point (of refusing a bonus in wages to their actual workers in the so-called cooperative stores and factories) are men whose great ability in business is very evident, whose devotion to cooperation *as they understand it* is unquestionable, but whose methods of reasoning and whose prejudices are typically those of business men in the world outside of the cooperative movement. It was their fathers or grandfathers who did the thinking required to make the cooperative stores the great success they have become. This generation has the usual business-man's pride in the imposing figures of the sales and profits of the stores and the English wholesale. Its chief maxim (or sub-conscious principle) is "Let well enough alone," one always brought forward when men who reason out principles ask them to take the worker into full cooperation as the natural next step in the application of true cooperative ideas. "Philistine" is perhaps a much overworked epithet since Matthew Arnold first employed it, but surely it has few applications more just than to the English co-operators who here reject the logic of Neale and Hughes and Holyoake, and all the economists of England with scarcely an exception. I met at Cardiff, last June, the business leaders of the Wholesale Society, and endeavored to realize the state of mind which leads them to part company with men whose ability and sin-

cerity in the cause of cooperation they never incline to dispute—the “children of light” preeminently in their body. But I could perceive no specific difference (so far as my opportunities of conversation and attending meetings went) between what I may call, for convenience’ sake, “the English Wholesale mind” and the mind, familiar to all of us, of the ordinary business man, averse to any change in his relations with his employees, and impatient to a degree with reformers or “theorists” of any description. “The Labour Association mind” appeared to me to be really a mind, *i. e.*, a power of thinking over new ideas and following out principles to their natural conclusions and proper results. The Labour Association people have ideas and are willing to move with them; the Philistines have a set of prejudices to which they adhere with that virtue we are so wont to call “firmness”—in ourselves.

For an outsider it is difficult to see what serious danger could threaten such a great concern as the “Wheatsheaf” shoe works at Leicester for instance, making a million and a half pairs of boots and shoes annually, if they gave their thousand employees a modest bonus on wages, such as much smaller cooperative concerns in the same town give and still prosper—or rather, one might well say, are more prosperous because they do pay a bonus. Nevertheless, the long contest in the cooperative movement between the conservatives and the liberals on this matter seems to have resulted in a virtual victory for the conservative element. The subject is now avoided at the congresses and the liberals express little hope of a change of heart or a change of program on the part of their more numerous opponents. An American may be excused for having faith that the very evident logic of cooperation will work itself clear in time, if not with the help of this sincere but intellectually limited majority, then

without them, or against them. That cooperation is to stop with consumption is a supposition quite too difficult for a far-seeing mind to entertain. English co-operators even now are not allowed to enjoy the complete pleasure of their prejudices; sometimes it is a trade-unionist like Mr. Steadman, the East London M.P., speaking at Cardiff, who reminds them of their inconsistencies;* sometimes it is an economist like Prof. Marshall or Prof. Nicholson; sometimes it is the *Spectator* or the *Speaker*, that points out with more or less mildness the better way; their feet will not know lasting peace until they tend in that direction!

It was my good fortune to attend the first day's session of the Cooperative Union at Cardiff (a body too few Americans see), and two or three preliminary meetings. Other unions produce as big pamphlets as this union every year (the report is a formidable document), or even bigger, but I doubt if the American traveler in England can find a convention of a thousand men that will impress him more favorably than such a congress. We Americans have so many compliments

* Mr. Steadman said that "he had been a trade-unionist for over twenty-six years, and he was proud to stand upon that or any other platform as a representative of the organized labor of the country. He had never been a keen sympathizer with the cooperative movement for this reason. If he purchased some goods at the stores, and if, after spending a sovereign, his only object was to secure a five per cent. dividend, he might just as well spend his money with a private capitalist as with the stores which are run upon the lines of dividend hunters. He might be mistaken (cries of 'You are!')—but, if he were, so much the better. He did know a small productive society in his own constituency that not only paid trade union wages, but also gave the workers a share in the profits. If that was cooperation, if all other cooperative organizations were run on similar lines, then he was a cooperator."

This quotation from the official report of the Cardiff congress, relating to a most interesting incident of the first day's proceedings, shows the feeling entertained by many trade-unionists, and the ill grace with which the criticism was received witnesses the sensitiveness which people in the wrong usually feel toward comment which they have voted down in their own body by force of numbers.

paid us by foreigners on our readiness of speech on the platform or the floor of a convention that we have gotten into a way of expecting painful slowness or hesitancy from the average Briton on his feet in the agony of making "a few remarks." But we are quickly undeceived by such steadily good speaking as the cooperative congress affords—ready, consecutive, unrheterical, preeminently sane and sober discussion of the matter in hand. The verbosity and superficiality of too many American speakers on such an occasion would be painful to one who attends in order to get facts and truth, not to be drenched with "words, words." The solid, concrete English mind was here to be seen at its best, exemplifying the finest traditions of respect for free speech and demand for sound speech, and obedience to the laws of parliamentary discourse. It was a congress of labor with the demagogue silent and the usual "flea of conventions" absent!

The most attractive figure at the congress was, of course, the "old man eloquent" who is now the veteran *par éminence* of these gatherings. A congress without the fine presence and the vigorous word of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake would be sadly lacking. Eighty-three years young on this occasion, he obeyed the voice at eve, obeyed at prime, and did not omit, in season or out of season, to remind cooperators to be faithful to the whole body of doctrine as delivered by such apostles as Neale and Hughes. When Mr. Holyoake has gone over like them to the vast and increasing majority, the leadership of the liberal wing will probably be accredited generally to Mr. William Maxwell, the chairman of the Scottish Wholesale Society, whose great business abilities are not separate from a profound attachment to the principle of fraternity in industry to its fullest extent. His position gives him great ad-

vantage in championing the cause of labor copartnership, and if he should be elected to the next parliament (his candidacy this last fall was unsuccessful on account of the war feeling) he will take the prominent position before the general public to which his unusual powers as a thinker and as an orator entitle him. Mr. F. Madisson, lately M. P. for a Sheffield constituency, takes in these days a notable part in the cooperative movement, and it is to be hoped that his voice may again be heard in St. Stephen's, where his sincerity and his sanity won the respect of the house for a self-made man well made.

Mr. Aneurin Williams, treasurer of the Labour Association, is one of the last persons whom an American friendly to cooperation should leave unvisited; in more ways than one he has followed in the footsteps of Mr. E. V. Neale, and he aids the association with a personality of unusual attraction. Mr. George Thomson, the woolen manufacturer of Huddersfield who applies the Ruskinian doctrines of truth and sincerity to that business, is another man who should be better known to us. This industrial partnership is one of the most important cooperating enterprises in England, not so much for its size or its success, thus far, as for its consistency and courage in adherence to principles. The American who visits Huddersfield to see the unique establishment should also see at Hebden Bridge, near by, the oldest and most successful of profit-sharing cooperative manufactories in Great Britain. Here Mr. Joseph Greenwood, a cheerful veteran of the cause, and his associates frankly make fustian and sell it as such to a cooperative world not yet educated up as a whole to Mr. Thomson's standard of perfection in woolen goods. The esteem which these two men feel for each other reminds us how necessary it is in a varied world to meet different demands. Mr. Greenwood is one of

the first to say that Mr. Thomson's way is best, if only cooperators could be made to see it, and wear, as he himself does, the product of the Huddersfield mill.

While I am speaking of persons, let me advise visitors to cooperative England in the near years before us to make, if possible and proper, the acquaintance of Mr. J. M. Ludlow, the associate of Maurice and Kingsley. If he is able to see them, they will converse with a beautiful spirit, and see a man with a wonderful pair of eyes for eighty. Mr. George Livesey, the chief director of the South Metropolitan Gas Works in London, is carrying profit-sharing on to what he considers its natural and desirable development in the workman-stockholder and the workman-director, and he is sure to have a great influence on the future of English labor, if his measures succeed, as they have so far succeeded. Mr. Walter Hazell, lately M. P. for Leicester (an instance of the excellent English custom of allowing a constituency to choose its representatives from any part of the land), is another of the employers of labor on a large scale who put conscience into their work, and are always desirous to "become better employers." Mr. Hazell's plans of "industrial betterment" for his large printing establishment deserve study.

At Manchester and London one may see the immense warehouses of the English Wholesale Society, and come into pleasant contact with the sturdy Britons like Messrs. Shillito (the present chairman,) Ben Jones and F. Hardern, who indeed reject profit-sharing as an error of the doctrinaire, but show an amount of good "horse-sense" and solid English manliness that can but win the respect of any one not in fact a doctrinaire himself. Mr. J. C. Gray, the efficient secretary of the cooperative board, will be sure to extend every courtesy to an American sympathizer with distributive cooperation.

The important thing, however, for one to do who would know how cooperative production stands to-day in England is to visit Leicester or Kettering, or better, as they are only twenty miles apart, Leicester and Kettering. For the ordinary tourist Leicester (which he is too little apt to see) has the attraction of great antiquity, running back to Cæsar's time, of which numerous relics have been preserved; on the lines of enlarged municipal activity it is one of the most advanced towns in England: and Kettering is an admirable instance showing how neat a manufacturing place may be which has grown up out of an old village. In these two places, (Leicester a "city" as we should say, of 150,000 people, and Kettering one of 25,000), co-operation of all kinds has flourished greatly, and especially has cooperative production done exceedingly well of late years. I will not go into details, as Mr. H. D. Lloyd's very readable book on "Labour Co-partnership" is easily accessible with its chapters on these two places; but I will quote from the "Co-operative Year Book" for 1900 this brief table giving the progress of working-class copartnership in these two midland towns.

IN LEICESTER.

Year.	No. of Societies.	Capital.	Trade.	Profit, after paying 5 per cent. on capital.
1888	2	£6,800	£11,280	£ 260
1898	7	81,300	130,000	5,694

IN KETTERING.

1889	1	£1,032	£3,588	£ 328
1898	5	28,010	85,086	5,411

A point to which Mr. Lloyd does not call especial attention interested me as a student of economics not a little. I "wanted to know" how the managers of

these cooperative productive concerns think and feel about their "wages of superintendence," which are usually very low from an American standpoint, being oftentimes not much more than the wages of a skilled workman. Of course one must be mindful, in estimating the work such a manager is called upon to do, that most, if not all, of his trade comes from the Wholesale Society, his product going into the distributive stores through this agency, and that a business connection thus made is easily kept up by maintaining the excellence of the product. Much anxiety is thus taken off from the manager's mind, and he can devote himself more freely to the direct superintendence of the manufacture. But, often, these managers, who have usually risen from the ranks, are men who would receive at least twice or three times as much salary if at the head of factories of the same kind, conducted on the common lines. I questioned some seven or eight such managers in Leicester and Kettering on this point. With one exception, they agreed that, from the economic standpoint, it is a mistake for the societies to pay such small salaries, inasmuch as the ability shown is not sufficiently rewarded. Cooperators are properly anxious that the various grades of hand labor shall be fully recompensed; but they do not rate brain labor sufficiently high in comparison. The managers who thus expressed themselves were not complaining; they were accepting, as we all have to do in one way or another, a condition of things which can change only gradually.

The one manager who was the exception had had but a few months' experience in his place, in the shop where he had been a foreman, and he emphasized the fact that the Wholesale is their only customer. He seemed to me too modest, and the others as not at all irrational in thinking that their salaries should be higher. But they are all true "cooperative men" in

the sense that they believe in cooperation to the extent of making it practically a religious faith for which they are willing to sacrifice or to suffer. (I am not saying that this is their only religion; on the point of their conventional religiousness I am not well informed.) They are loyal to their fellow laboring men and are willing to work for half-pay, so to speak, for the good of the cause. Such a sacrifice should not be permanently demanded of them by the rank and file of workmen; in time the mistake will probably be corrected. But we see here an example of the cooperative spirit, which it would be vain to expect in the United States where the cooperative man is not so thoroughly or so frequently developed. But with such earnest and capable men abounding in England, one of the chief difficulties in the way of cooperative production here is absent. The "cooperative man," able to lead, will work for a small salary, and he will stay with his society as a rule, when offered higher pay in the outside, competitive world. Judging from the progress made in the last ten years in England, we may wisely expect to see cooperative production become a much larger factor in the national life than it has been, or now is.

PARTY DEGENERACY

Political parties come into existence for the purpose of incorporating certain ideas into the public policy of the nation. They are born with a program which generally rests on some moral idea, economic or political policy. To the extent that these ideas represent the consensus of the community and are honestly lived up to, the party grows in strength and influence and exercises a wholesome moral as well as political influence upon the nation. So long as a party is vitalized by an idea, whether in the majority or not, it is usually clean and aggressive.

On the other hand, it is as natural as for the seasons to follow each other that political parties will sterilize and decline in character and influence in proportion as moral ideas and vital principles cease to be their controlling motives. A party is born with a program and dies when the program is exhausted, unless a new program is evolved. Success tends to beget self-confidence, which grows into conceit, and is followed by indifference to principle and high standards of public policy. Leadership through ideas is gradually converted into dictatorship through the distribution of rewards and punishments from the "flesh-pots" of patronage.

The republican party appears to be nearing, if it has not already reached, this stage. When it was born, in 1856, it came with a mission. Its program was national unity, human freedom and equal rights. It led the forces of civilization against the last remnants of the slave system in Christendom. It placed itself upon the basis of moral ideas and human rights, first in the form of resisting the extension of the iniquitous

system of human slavery. This soon involved the further step of defending the principle of national unity, which made the United States a nation instead of a federation of petty sovereignties.

Inspired with the moral and political righteousness of its policy, it neither wavered nor weakened, but rose to the occasion with every increase of responsibility. It then commanded the endorsement and admiration of the best minds of every race and nation, and earned the title of "the party of moral ideas." Then it was progressive and inspiring, pure and elevating, a leader in progress, patriotism and civilization. It saved the union, blotted out slavery, and made the United States a nation. Under its leadership for a quarter of a century the nation experienced unparalleled industrial development and prosperity. New states were added in the West and new industries in the East. During this period we passed from a comparatively insignificant agricultural country to the foremost industrial nation of the world; showing greater progress in wealth, population, intelligence and popular welfare than ever marked the history of any other people in double the length of time.

Here the republican party reached the end of its program, and instead of developing in ideas and statesmanship commensurate with the progress of the country it began to fossilize. It became self-satisfied and indifferent to the high principles it had made historic, and began to bask in the sunshine of office and to rely on the favor of patronage for success.

Thus, instead of entering upon a new era of high statesmanship, the republican party entered upon the stage of degeneracy and sterility. Already great leadership has practically disappeared from its ranks, and in the place of leaders are now mere "boss" dictators, deriving their power from the control of patronage.

This substitution of dictators for leaders has practically obliterated political principle from the policy of the republican party. It is no longer "the party of moral ideas." The Monroe doctrine, which was the guiding principle in our international relations, has been practically forgotten, and under the rudderless policy of "drift" a republican administration has committed the nation to a colonial system utterly foreign to our traditions, habits, experience and interests, and justified on neither economic, moral nor political grounds. It has saddled us with the government of several groups of semi-barbaric peoples, which will be a permanent burden upon the nation, creating new sources of patronage and corruption, leading to fraud, maladministration and political degeneracy, to the distraction and discredit of the nation. Moreover, the national administration is so encompassed by the degenerate dictatorship of local bosses that dishonesty and corruption by federal officers cannot be suppressed. The threats of the local "boss" paralyze the hands of the president himself.

During the last few years this deadening process has grown apace. In Pennsylvania, where the republican party is securely in power, the organization manager dictates, not merely public policies but the details of scandalous, vindictive legislation, even to taking away the elective rights of cities as a punishment for disobedience to the boss. Perhaps the most surprising feature of this is that Quay's ability to order his legislature to abolish the office of mayor in three cities and substitute a recorder to be appointed by his governor has created almost no indignation throughout the country. There is some rebellion in the cities thus decapitated, but the great republican journals of the country are practically "mum." The ruthless trampling on representative institutions is practically so commonplace that it passes without serious protest.

On every hand the evidence is apparent that the republican party has practically outlived its reputation as "the party of moral ideas" and is deteriorating into a party of moral indifference, political drift and "boss" manipulation. It is rapidly losing the confidence of the nation. Republican cities have already begun to elect anti-republican and even revolutionary administrations. It may with truth be said that the democratic party is not any better, but this will not serve to stem the tide. The national administration is becoming less popular every day; criticisms of its policy are increasing in frankness and fierceness on every hand. Evidence is not wanting that the deadening spell of "boss" rule has nearly reached its limit and that a breakup is imminent. Whether this will result in a new party with radically different objects, or a reorganization of the best elements of the old parties, will largely depend on how soon the reorganization comes. If it is postponed long enough, the very rottenness of the existing systems and methods may bring a revolutionary party with a radical socialistic platform. The bold dictation of Quay in Pennsylvania and Platt in New York, which has reduced the legislatures of the two greatest states in the union to mere instruments of personal caprice, is well calculated to hasten the breakup. If Platt and Croker were conspiring to force a revolt they could hardly work more successfully to the point, for never was the hand of the dictator more wantonly and unscrupulously shown anywhere than in the New York city hall and the Albany legislature.

Of course, Tammany does not represent the democracy of Greater New York. It represents only an organized body which is directly benefited by patronage and protection to office-holders and law-breakers. These do not constitute the democratic party, but they furnish a compact, active, organized element in every

election district of the metropolis. The decent citizens are more numerous than these, but they are neither so well organized nor so active.

The natural opposition to this should be the republican party. In most cases the opposition party, especially if it has been out of office a long time, is the reform party, the clean party, the party of ideas and high public standard. The very incentive for success usually creates this. New York city is the one great exception to this rule. Although the republican party is almost never in power in New York city, yet it has utterly failed to rise to the plane of political morals which would command public confidence; it is, in fact, distrusted about as much as Tammany. The reason is that the republican organization is a Tammany in everything but the name. It has the same characteristics, almost the same lack of honor, integrity and public spirit, much the same style of political crookedness, and stands equally ready upon occasion to practice scandalous methods. In fact, it is the political twin of Tammany Hall and therefore naturally prefers to conduct deals with the Tammany management, for a share in the spoils, to honestly leading a movement for high-minded, clean municipal policy.

But this organization does not represent the republicans of New York city. Fully seventy-five per cent. of the republican voters desire clean politics and honest government and would regard it as an invaluable benefaction to be emancipated from this band of political pirates which disgraces the name of the republican party. But, like the decent element in the democratic party, they are not organized, they are not attracted by the odors of the flesh-pots, and, like the unorganized in every sphere of life, they patiently endure the evil. This is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that they believe in the general policy of the republican party in

national affairs and hence are more or less timid about breaking up the organization which assumes the lead of the republican forces whenever state and national policies are under consideration. The same is true of the democratic party. It is true everywhere that a small number organized is more powerful in any public movement than a many times larger body unorganized. That is because the great mass always follows and the very few lead. In the labor movement this is true. It is constantly repeated that the organized laborers do not constitute ten per cent. of the workingmen, yet they can always lead the other ninety, and solely because they are organized, have a specific purpose and follow certain recognized and trusted leaders.

But there is a degree of incompetence and depth of depravity beyond which organized "bossism" cannot go without sacrificing progress and endangering free government. That point has obviously been reached in New York at least. The salvation of decency and ordinary integrity in public life now demands a reorganization of political forces. Experience has already demonstrated that the republican party cannot be trusted. Its depravity is being demonstrated at Albany, where it has control. It is equally clear that Tammany can neither be ousted nor reformed under present lines of organization. The next step, and the only feasible one, is for all the decent elements of the city which are tired and disgusted with both organizations to meet in the open and form a new integration of political forces. The preservation of neither the democratic nor the republican party in the nation is to-day of sufficient importance to prevent this movement for municipal regeneration. The national democratic party is on the rack, it stands for nothing of pressing importance, it has been led astray into the fields of vagary verging on revolution. The republican party,

while safer along the line of established policies, represents no really vital new principle in the national life. It has broken from its moorings in many important respects and represents nothing important for the immediate future. It is practically in a state of political drift, heading for no particular port, guided by no definite chart, and floats aimlessly along like a ship without compass or rudder.

Indeed, there are many signs indicating a strong necessity for and probable tendency towards reorganization of political forces in both parties, for national as well as municipal purposes. There is, therefore, no reason why the clean and progressive elements in both the democratic and republican parties should hesitate to organize for a higher type of municipal government. If this should be successfully done in New York city, it might and probably would be the beginning of a similar movement in other large cities and ultimately extend to state and national politics as well. It might, indeed, be the beginning of a new era in political organization and leadership in American politics. The movement of the Carnegie-Hall democrats under the leadership of Mr. Crimmins, and of the republicans under the leadership of Mr. Brookfield, and the non-partisan movement of the citizens' union, all show that this wholesome work has already made a good beginning. If crankiness can be suppressed, and the single purpose of clean, honest administration, with some specific lines of reform, be made the platform, 1901 may prove the great year of opportunity for the successful breaking-up of the hide-bound, corrupt political organizations, and a new integration of political parties which shall give new life, strength and virtue to the political methods and public spirit in New York, and elevate the tone and broaden the character of the public policy of the nation.

THE BILLION-DOLLAR CORPORATION

The industrial billionaire has arrived; if not in the person of a single individual, he is here quite as definitely in the form of a single corporation. The United States Steel Corporation is more than a billion-dollar concern; it is about a billion and a half. Nothing approaching it has hitherto been attempted. Its magnitude and far-reaching purposes are bewildering to the ordinary observer. It is too stupendous for intelligent criticism at this juncture. It is an experiment which will demonstrate the wisdom or danger of the modern tendency of industrial integration.

If it succeeds it may be the beginning of a new era of industrial organization which shall have a world influence on business conditions. The rewards of success are great, and the responsibility of failure is tremendous. Undertaken in good faith as an industrial enterprise, the United States Steel Corporation may prove an invaluable contribution to the industrial development of the twentieth century, but, if organized as a scheme for speculation to convert watered stock into cash for promoters, it may prove a disaster to the nation and a crime against civilization.

The responsibility of deciding the course and character of this epoch-making enterprise is with a few men. If we consider the character of the men, the nature of the enterprise, and the interdependent relations of the concerns integrated, everything seems to warrant the hope and faith that this mammoth integration is a legitimate economic business reorganization. Its direction and character practically rest with three men,—J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. These are conspicuously the three greatest

minds in the world in their respective fields. As a financier of industrial enterprises Mr. Morgan has no equal. He may not be the richest financier in the world but he is the most successful financial promoter of great concerns. He has made no important mistakes and no failures. In 1894 he promptly and successfully negotiated an important loan for the United States government at a critical moment, heading off a disastrous panic almost without a ripple. In his promoting experience with railroads and industrial concerns he has never been a wrecker but always conducted the financiering on the lines of ultimate profitable investment.

Mr. Rockefeller is the world's greatest industrial organizer. He has, through the steady application of more than thirty years' experience, developed the greatest, most extensive and successful industry ever organized. His enterprise represents investment which would permit a legitimate capitalization of three-quarters of a billion, and its products reach the most backward of the settled portions of the human race. He brings to the new steel enterprise the widest experience in complex industrial integration of any living man.

Mr. Carnegie is the greatest iron and steel manufacturer the world has produced. As a developer of methods, together with the organization of productive facilities and efficient marketing of iron and steel products, he is preeminently at the head of his class. Moreover, he has never indulged in stock speculation; his enterprise was not even a corporation until about a year ago. This is the more important as the new concern is dealing with the whole field of iron and steel production. Moreover, these three men, supported by others of similar type, though of less magnitude, are on the board of managers. Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller are there personally, and Mr. Carnegie is there

by proxy through Mr. Charles M. Schwab. Mr. Schwab, whose photograph we publish in this issue, is in many respects the most remarkable industrial manager in his line that this wonderful age has produced. He is practically the industrial child of Mr. Carnegie, and, though less than forty years of age, he was at the head of the Carnegie concern. And it was only on condition that Mr. Schwab should be president that Mr. Carnegie consented to merge his plant in the great steel company. A dozen such men as these, equipped by temperament and successful experience for such an undertaking, probably could not be found. All this augurs genuine industrial enterprise, not Wall Street and Lombard Street speculation.

The character of the industries integrated and the field of operation is equally reassuring. This new concern has not collected an indefinite assortment of enterprises but has limited itself to the iron and steel industries. In this it has reached out into all the important branches, from mining the ore to marketing the finished product, including the facilities for transportation. Thus it is in reality a consolidation of the facilities and processes of one of the greatest industrial fields in the country, with its multitude of interdependent branches. If this enterprise is conducted on a strictly economic basis under the present management, several important results may be expected.

(1) It ought to exercise a steadying influence over the market conditions of the whole iron industry, and if wisdom prevails it will do this without any rise in prices but ultimately with a lowering of prices. No great economies in the cost of production can be expected at the outset. It would be difficult to conceive any immediate improvement of methods in such concerns as the Carnegie works. But the best processes employed by

the most successful concerns can be extended to the whole.

(2) Great advantages and ultimate economies may be expected from a better distribution of managing and administrative ability. Where special ability shows itself, and the opportunity for its development and promotion does not exist in the given concern, the man can be transferred to others where improvement is needed, and thus the very highest managing skill can be placed where it will render the greatest service throughout the entire working field.

(3) It will check the tendency to wasteful duplication of processes in times of boom inflation, and the consequent ruinous competition, thus giving permanence and stability to the entire industry and preventing business-disturbing fluctuation. In this way it may and under present management probably will become the great steadier of the iron and steel industries of the whole country. This would be the first great step towards the elimination of industrial depressions. If this policy, so characteristic of the Rockefeller and Carnegie concerns, is pursued by the new company, it will not only justify its existence but it will do much to remove from the public mind the apprehension and distrust of large corporations as enemies of public welfare. That would do more to establish public confidence in the normal and rational development of modern industry than anything that has occurred in half a century. On the other hand, if these men should for any reason convert their holdings into cash, or use their stock for the purposes of speculation, and let the management pass into inferior hands, it might result in one of the most disastrous calamities this country has ever experienced. The reward and honor of success is theirs, and also the responsibility of failure.

DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL AUTHORITY

The United States entered upon its national career with the theory that the essential principle in democracy is local sovereignty. Jefferson thought that the only safety for democratic government is to keep political power in the hands of the smallest workable groups. This is good doctrine but, like all general principles, must be intelligently interpreted. The idea of local sovereignty is not opposed to national sovereignty, but merely implies that authority should only be transferred from the smaller to the larger political units when the smaller become inadequate to the proper performance of the task. That is to say, no function should be transferred to the community which can be properly performed by the individual; no local function should be transferred to the state which can be adequately performed by the municipality; and, similarly, no function should be transferred to the national government which can be adequately performed by the state.

This doctrine implies with equal force that authority should pass to the larger group whenever the interest involved transcends the sphere of the smaller group. Thus all interests which extend beyond the realm of individual authority should pass to the local authority, and those reaching beyond the local should go to the state, and those going beyond state lines should pass under national jurisdiction. The principle of local sovereignty is eminently democratic; but it is in the nature of a working principle and not a fixed state or condition. It is just as much a violation of the principle involved, however, to retain state control of interstate interests as it is to transfer purely state interests

to national authority. In a progressive country where local sovereignty exists, the transfer of interests from the smaller to the larger groups and even sometimes from the larger to the smaller becomes a necessary part of progressive political adjustment in order to maintain efficiency of administration along with the democratic principle. For instance, in the middle ages trade was easily within the bounds of municipal authority. Cities governed all the conditions of trade, but as industry expanded it so transcended all municipal bounds as to render narrow local authority a menace to progress and make national authority necessary.

This principle is constantly operating in the United States. In the early days of the republic there were very few internal interests that transcended state boundaries. Interests that were entirely national and properly came under federal authority were those which related to the national defence and a few very general matters like the coining of money and the postal system. It soon became evident, however, that any appreciable progress in national life would require a national banking system. Jefferson and the adherents to the local-sovereignty doctrine resisted this, because they thought it contrary to the principle of democracy; but, by force of financial chaos and disaster, though not converted from that error they were compelled to adopt a national bank. Under the influence of this idea, that democracy is limited to local sovereignty, the Jefferson party refused to renew the charter of the national bank and on its expiration another period of financial havoc with wild cat currencies resulted, which finally forced the chartering of the second Bank of the United States. This experience was again repeated in 1836 at the expiration of the charter of the second bank, and another period of disaster followed. This was the natural result of subjecting national institutions to state control.

Like the postal-service and the circulation of coin, banking extends throughout the nation. In the nature of things, therefore, and in strict accordance with the principle of local sovereignty and home rule, we have finally been compelled to adopt a national banking system.

What was true of banking has been true of several other important interests of society. The development of our industrial resources has made almost every industry extend beyond state lines. There is almost no industry of any considerable proportions in this country which is now limited to the area of any state. For this reason it became necessary to adopt the interstate commerce law, which took the power of regulating railroads in certain respects out of the hands of the states and transferred it to the national government. This was no violation of the principle of local sovereignty, because it only transferred the authority from the state to the nation when the industry ceased to be a state institution and became national.

This has been true also of bankruptcy. As business became more and more interstate, local or state bankruptcy laws became incompatible with the broader interests of national industry. The industrial relations of debtor and creditor became so clearly national that widely different local and state bankruptcy laws became the means of perpetrating fraud and injustice, to correct which a national bankruptcy law became indispensable. This again was no surrender of the principle of local government. It was only transferring the interests to national authority when they became national in character and influence. To insist on keeping matters under state jurisdiction which are national in their character does not strengthen the democratic principle but, on the contrary, is a menace to efficient govern-

ment and the adequate protection of individual and local interests.

A forcible illustration of this was furnished in the anti-Italian riots in New Orleans some years ago. Italian citizens were murdered in cold blood, and when Italy protested and asked for redress our government, through Secretary Blaine, had to reply that unfortunately the murderers of the Italian subjects in New Orleans were under state authority and beyond the reach of the United States government. Thus we practically said to Italy: We are sorry but we cannot help it. If Italy had replied, as she well might have done: Well, if you cannot deal with the people of Louisiana we can and will send a battleship with an ultimatum, our government would have replied: No, that would be an attack upon the United States. We cannot punish the murderers of your citizens ourselves, nor can we permit you to punish them either.

This is a discreditable anomaly. We deny the right of states to have any direct relation with foreign nations, and yet we have no power to make the states respect the rights of citizens of foreign nations. When the Turks murder our missionaries in Armenia, or the Chinese do the same in China, we demand redress or take steps to despatch army and navy to enforce it, but when American citizens perpetrate similar outrages upon foreign subjects our government is compelled shamefully to admit its inability to afford either protection or redress. Since all our relations with foreign countries are in the hands of the national government, it is clearly a part of the duty of the federal authority to afford the same protection to citizens of foreign countries that we demand for American citizens in foreign countries. Clearly the time has come for transferring the protection of foreign citizens, regardless of the state they reside in, from the state to the national

government. This matter was referred to in the president's last message and should receive the prompt attention of congress.

Many economic interests have also reached a stage in development which makes them, logically and properly, belong under national rather than state administration. For example, all conditions which involve important business competition are now too large for state administration. The organization of corporations, for example, should now pass to the national government, because the interests and intercourse of nearly all corporations extend over many states, and many of them over the entire country. State legislation may impose all sorts of varying conditions upon corporations, which handicap them in their business competition with each other. It is essential to economic fairness that all rival concerns in the same business should be on the same footing throughout the entire area of their operation; consequently, the conditions imposed upon them should be uniform throughout the nation. For this reason the national government should grant charters for business corporations, and such charters should operate as the charter of a national bank does, throughout the entire United States, thus putting corporations beyond the power of nagging legislation from local prejudice. This does not mean that corporation charters should be less precise and restrictive, but it simply means that they should properly come under a political authority which is commensurate with the area of modern industrial interests and activities.

The same is true with reference to labor legislation. It is a detriment both to business enterprise and to the social welfare of the laborers that labor legislation should be limited to state lines when the interests and mobility of laborers are national. Take, for example, the hours of labor. To the extent that reduc-

tion of the hours of labor may affect even temporarily the condition of capital, it is a disadvantage that it should be local when the competition is national. New York, New England, and in fact all the eastern states, have by the very force of growing civilization adopted a body of humane legislation regulating the hours of labor, education, sanitary conditions and other conditions affecting the workshop welfare of the laborers. All this contributes to the improvement of the social life and standard of comfort and culture of the masses. But in certain other states, notably the South, where this pressure of civilization has not been exercised to any such degree, the corporations are continuing the conditions which existed at the opening of the century. Women and children are employed in the factories and shops without any legal restriction or regulation as to hours of labor, sanitary conditions or any form of protection against the mere greed of corporate employers. This disparity between the conditions of labor in the East and South is a menace to industrial progress. It puts the corporations in the two sections of the country, engaged in the same industry, on an unfair competitive basis. It gives the premium of superior opportunity to those who furnish the poorest conditions and lowest wages and hence do the least for national advancement.

State legislation, while wholly adequate to deal with labor conditions when industries are limited in their competitive relations to purely local areas, is wholly inadequate now that they are national. When the manufacturers of New York and Massachusetts have to meet in the same market with those of Georgia and South Carolina the conditions for their competition have manifestly passed beyond the limits of state authority and clearly belong to the federal government.

This is quite as true in the interests of labor as of the

corporations. It is a part of the opportunity for the industrial and social advancement of laborers that they be able easily to pass from one employer or one locality another to improve their condition. It is, therefore, a part of equitable economic competition, that, so far as legislation and government influence are concerned, the industrial opportunities should be the same throughout the nation. The differences in conditions should be entirely economic and climatic rather than legislative, so that the best environment could furnish the greatest attraction and best opportunities.

On the other hand, it is no less important that interests which become more local should pass under the exclusive control of municipal authority. To transfer the authority over city police to the state is as contrary to the spirit of home rule as it is to keep authority in the hands of the state over interests that have manifestly become national. To be true to the principle of democracy and local home rule, political authority should pass from the greater to the smaller or from the smaller to the greater body according as the area of the interests involved is great or small. Interests that are inevitably national should pass under the jurisdiction of the national government and interests that are local and municipal should not be transferred to the state. True democracy means self-government and self-government must always be co-extensive with the interests and rights to be guarded and protected.

RUSSIA'S BLOW AT AMERICAN COMMERCE

ROMNEY WHEELOCK

The Russian government is following the example of the United States in the construction of a Union Pacific railway. It means as much to Russia as the building of the first Union Pacific meant to America. It is proper that Americans should carefully gauge the influence which the Siberian railway will have upon American interests.

As society is now constituted the principle "live and let live" is practically inoperative. Pet phrases are getting stripped of their adventitious meanings and we are getting down to facts. Men find it cheaper in the long run to say what they think. There is something brutally direct about this, but what is lost in elegance is gained in honesty; and it saves time. Self-preservation is of course the first law of national life, and we may as well admit that the principle "live and let live" should read "live and let live unless it interferes with your living; if so, kill." This is not a Christian principle nor even a moral one. It is simply the natural one and is likely to remain operative until we discover such a thing as a national conscience. A wounded bird is set upon by its mates and killed. A maimed wolf becomes food for its fellows. In some parts of the world men bury their parents when they have become useless encumbrances. This is nature and is essentially the law that prevails between nations.

Such being the case no one can say that Russia or any other power is doing wrong in using every possible means to forward her own interests. The protective tariff of the United States hurts England but we care nothing for that. British control of the Suez canal

hurts France but England cares nothing for that. Russia's imminence upon the borders of Afghanistan hurts England but Russia cares nothing for that. It is an indication of the honesty of the times that no one blames Russia for her advance in Manchuria, for any of us would have done the same under like circumstances.

Russia is doubtless aware that the forward steps she is taking in the far East must be followed up and vindicated by a vast industrial and commercial change among her people, or else the advance will not be permanent. The interests of the Russian people as well as of the Russian oligarchy must be vested in their new acquisitions or else they will become mere encumbrances. It is the investment of English capital and English lives in India that makes their eastern empire so full of meaning to them and to the world at large. England has put to proof the law that, in successful colonization, as much must be given as is expected in return. There lies the difference between England's colonies and those of France.

An examination of the figures shows that as yet only an insignificant fraction of the Chinese people have been brought into contact with western markets in any vital sense. As yet we have driven only the entering wedge. Enough is known of the Chinese temperament to predict that in any new regime the dominant influence will be industrial and commercial, and it follows that those who are most closely in touch with the industrial and commercial interests of China will wield a dominant moral, though perhaps not at first political, influence in that vast commonwealth. For this reason I believe the position is a sound one that Russia must follow up her diplomatic by a corresponding commercial advantage and justify the laying of her heavy hand upon a large section of Chinese territory by making herself commercially indispensable to the inhabitants of that section.

The question is, how can this be done? Trade is as blind as justice. People will continue to buy cheap and sell dear in spite of all patriotic considerations. The cry "patronize home industries" is a futile one. It is the industries that must do the patronizing. It is generally accepted that at the present time Russian industries are not in a position to compete on equal terms with those of England, Germany or America in the open markets of China, and so long as this remains true it will be impossible to build up Russian industries by any natural process. The necessary stimulus is lacking for the building up of a great industrial class in Russia so long as they are unable to compete.

There are two artificial means whereby the necessary stimulus can be afforded. The first is a system of government bounties that will enable manufacturers to put their goods upon the market at such prices as to outbid their competitors. This is what the protective tariff is doing in the United States in a different though cognate form, for there the people have to pay the bounty. This might prove successful within the limits of Russia, for a protective tariff is an indirect tax; but, when it comes to paying cash bounties out of a national treasury to any and all firms who propose to compete for the trade of an alien market like that of China, it is evident at once that the scale is too vast. It is impracticable.

The second possible method would be to create spheres of commercial activity outside the borders of Russia proper, in which the competing products of other countries shall be put under such disabilities as will kill all competition. Such a method is especially feasible for a compact, military empire like that of Russia where the army could be made the instrument in bringing about the necessary conditions.

By corraling a portion of the race and then saying

"buy of me at my prices or go without," it is possible to make a market and so stimulate industrial activity; and even as a protective tariff in America has made it possible for her, at least for her manufacturers, to compete in the markets of the world, so the plan here stated might in time work up an industrial class in Russia that could stand on its own legs. Of course the basis would have to be military, for nothing but a show of arms would ensure the continued exclusion of competing goods from the sphere so "preserved." The possibility of getting the same goods cheaper in another market would cause a constant outward pressure like that of water behind a dam.

It has been said that "trade follows the flag." This is far truer of Russia than of England. For with England it has ever been the flag that has followed trade to protect it, while with Russia it is only by a military initiative that her trade has been and is to be made possible. Here as elsewhere the antipodal geniuses of the Anglo-Saxon and Muscovite civilizations appear. England needs an army and navy to protect her trade. Russia needs trade to protect her army and navy—that is, to follow up and complete her military and naval, or perhaps rather diplomatic, achievements.

The Siberian railway is admirably adapted to the carrying out of such a plan for the expansion of Russian industries. It would not be complimentary to the good sense of Russian statesmanship to suppose that this expensive road is being built for the purpose of mere territorial aggrandizement. Too much territory is often worse than too little. The aim back of it all must be to find a way to bring the Russian people up to the industrial standard of the rest of Europe. The purpose is a most laudable one and does credit to a statesmanship that few dare or care to underrate.

It has been widely advertised that one of the main objects in view in building this line is the development of Siberia. But we can hardly believe that this is the main object or even one of the main objects. As other nations are advancing and the markets of the East are being gradually supplied from other than Russian factories we can scarcely believe that Russia will wait for Siberia to be developed before entering upon an active commercial policy, when on each side of the Manchurian division of her new line there are millions of Chinese who are buying freely from foreign markets. No, the cheapest and easiest way to insure the success of an industrial and commercial policy for Russia would be to obtain complete control over a section of the Chinese market and exploit it in the interests of her own people. This would provide a market that would stimulate Russian industries up to a twentieth-century basis. With her railroad and her army working in conjunction it would be strange if she could resist the temptation to detach a portion of China for the purpose of building up distinctively Russian industries.

It may be claimed that this is mere supposition. But among the many indications that such is Russia's intention one may be mentioned which goes far to warrant the supposition. It consists in Russia's notion of an "open port," as explained in the Russian imperial decree of July 30th, 1899. After dilating upon the benefits to accrue from the building of the Siberian railway the decree goes on to say:

"In view of the commercial development of the future city (at the Yellow Sea terminus) we confer upon it for the whole term during which that territory has been leased to Russia by China the rights of free trade which belong to free ports, upon the following conditions:

"(I.) The right to import and export merchandise of every description free of customs duties as established in the city, the port and in the adjacent territory, up to a fixed boundary line which may be changed by the minister of finance. . . .

"(IV.) Merchandise imported into Russia and coming from the territory to which the right of free trade is thus extended shall be examined and shall pay such duties upon entering the limits of the empire as are provided for by the general laws which govern the importation of foreign goods."

In order to understand this language we must glance at the position which Russia holds in Manchuria. She has leased from China the ports of Talienwan and Port Arthur for a specified number of years, and within those ports Russia is sovereign for that period. But Russia has not leased Manchuria. That still remains Chinese territory, though included in the Russian sphere of influence. Russia has acquired the right to run her railroad through Manchuria, but the administration of the province is still in Chinese hands, the taxes of the people still flow into the Chinese coffers, and the boundary of the Russian empire remains where it was before. It follows that whatever rights America or any other of the treaty powers enjoys in any part of China she enjoys equally in Manchuria. If Manchuria belongs to Russia then Russian duties must be paid. If it belongs to China, Chinese duties must be paid. But we find here that Russia disclaims sovereignty over Manchuria, for the decree refers to merchandise imported into Russia and coming from the territory to which the right of free trade had been "extended."

This says plainly that the Russian boundary is somewhere beyond and outside the territory to which the right of free trade is extended. Goods imported into the free port of Talienwan and passing beyond the free-trade limit will pass into what is admittedly Chinese territory. It would naturally be supposed then that upon entering Chinese territory it would pass through Chinese custom houses in the hands of the imperial Chinese customs, and if it was desired to send goods through to Russian territory they would pass through in bond until they reached the Russian boun-

dary, where they would of course pay the regular Russian duty. But what do we find? That goods having entered the free port of Talienwan can be carried free into the adjacent territory up to a fixed boundary that can be changed—a fixed, changeable boundary, by the minister of finance. In other words, Russia considers herself so far sovereign in Manchuria that she can extend or contract the free-trade boundary at will. She can make it include the whole of Manchuria or she can draw the “fixed boundary” to within five miles of Talienwan and stop all goods from entering the adjacent territory except under her own regulations; for it is not to be supposed that China can move her line of customs stations back and forth at the caprice of the Russian minister of finance.

A port of entry is worth nothing except as a distributing center, and if Russia reserves the right to cut the arteries which connect Talienwan with the adjacent territory the freedom of that port is rather more than less of a mockery. It is like putting food into a starving man's mouth and then twisting a rope around his neck so that he cannot swallow.

The decree is careful to state how goods can be carried from the free territory into Russia proper, but that is not what we wish to know. There is little or no market in Siberia. What American and English and other producers want to know is how goods can be gotten across the “fixed boundary” into the adjacent territory that is not Russia but China. Of course, in the free port Russia does not expect to compete with others but she has so arranged it that at the will of her minister of finance the territory thus made free shall be so contracted as to be worthless as a market. If Russia controls the “fixed boundary” she controls the rates of duty that American or other goods must pay in crossing that border. This, as I have said, is a natural de-

duction from the fact that Russia claims the right to enlarge or contract the free territory at will. This is the vital point. It may be presumed that along the borders of China there are Chinese customs stations, and goods coming in from Russia pay the regulation duties according to Chinese law. This amounts on an average to something less than ten per cent., in fact there are few things that pay more than seven per cent. Russian goods coming south across the border will therefore pay this low rate of duty. What we want to know and be assured of is that when goods enter the free port of Talienwein and pass out into the surrounding territory beyond the "fixed boundary" they shall not pay the smallest fraction more of duty than the Russian goods that come in from the north. On this point the decree is significantly silent.

In this decree Russia makes two open claims. One is that she has the right to make any part or all of Manchuria free territory for the goods of all nations, for we see that the "fixed boundary" may be changed without the concurrence of China by the mere fiat of the Russian minister of finance.

The second is that Russia has the right to control the conditions under which goods shall pass across the "fixed boundary" into Chinese territory. Manifestly Russia's notion of a free port is a curious one.

Every man who is a permanent resident in a particular locality is the subject of the government to which he pays taxes and to whose courts of justice he has to appeal. That is better evidence than any oath of allegiance and that test is the one on which rests the righteousness of England's cause in South Africa. Now it is plain that import duties are a tax and the people of Manchuria are subjects of that government which collects and pockets the customs duties. At least it divides their allegiance. Even supposing that upon reaching

the "fixed boundary" American goods should be subject to the ordinary rates of Chinese duty, the ultimate danger is not evaded. Russia's claim to the right to expand or contract at will the free territory about Talienwan is the plainest one that could covertly be made to complete sovereignty over the whole of Manchuria.

And right here is where the danger to American interests lies; for, though Russia has lately given guarantees that in no part of China shall American goods be excluded from equal privileges with those of Russia, it must be clearly borne in mind that the moment any portion of Chinese territory becomes the actual property of Russia the guarantee is valueless.

American exporters should be alive to the fact that their most hopeful field of enterprise in the far East is in northern China and Manchuria. It is here that we are most rapidly outstripping all competitors. It is not enough that Russia should guarantee that all Chinese territory shall be kept open to us. We must have a further guarantee that Chinese territory shall not become Russian territory.

Russia cannot be blamed for desiring to prepare for her people an exclusive field of commercial enterprise in northern China. The moral element in international politics is not sufficiently developed for us to charge her with any wrong intent, for there is not another government in the world to-day that in like circumstances would not do the very same thing. The open door is good for England and she clamors for it for a determined right. It is bad for Russia, and we cannot blame her if she inveighs against it as a barrier which blocks her way to complete development. The morals of the question depend upon the point of view. On general principles, what is helpful is right and what is harmful is wrong. Here in a nutshell we have all the moral element in the code of modern international comity.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

AND NOW Bryan is after Colonel Watterson. In one of his moods of grandiloquent deliverance, the shaggy-maned editor of the *Courier-Journal* ascribed the war and the taking of the Philippines to the Almighty. With due reverence for spiritual things, Mr. Bryan takes him in hand to the extent of a page in the *Commoner*, and really leaves little of Watterson worth preserving.

THE JOBBERY of the Platt legislature in dealing with the revised charter has given Mayor Van Wyck another opportunity to pose as the friend of popular rights. It really begins to look as if the only hope for any wholesome political action in New York state lies in taking the state administration from the republicans. If the democrats had full control in both Albany and New York city, the corrupt trading between the two organizations would disappear. There would at least be an opportunity to drive Plattism to the rear and make room for clean, wholesome leadership. The republican party in New York state clearly needs baptising in the waters of defeat. With this corrupting element washed away it might again show wholesome vitality and become the party of moral ideas and policies.

THE PEACEFUL settlement of the threatened strike among the steel workers is another evidence that labor when properly organized can really accomplish more with large corporations than with small petty employers. The billion-and-a-half corporation is indeed strong enough to make a tremendous fight against labor, but

it has other and better means of making money. Moreover, although much richer it is more sensitive to public opinion than the small half-million-dollar affair. The truth is that in a multitude of ways every year's experience makes it clearer that, all in all, laborers can do better in hours of labor, permanence of employment and wages, with large corporations than with small ones. If the capitalists will pursue this rational policy, facts will ultimately become too strong for Bryanism and socialism to prevail against them.

JUST BY WAY of saying something exciting, the New York *World* makes a violent attack upon Secretary Gage for placing some of the surplus government funds in the strongest banks in New York, receiving as security the deposit of government bonds. These banks received in the aggregate \$27,689,940.16. They are among the strongest banks in the city, having an aggregate capital of \$29,600,000, with aggregate deposits of \$389,578,300. Would the *World* have Mr. Gage put the government's funds in the smallest and weakest banks, or would it have the treasury lock up over five hundred millions and thus contract the volume of currency available for business and force up the rate of interest for the "poor borrower?" And yet this silly criticism of the only sane and safe policy Mr. Gage could have pursued is reprinted by Mr. Bryan on the front page of his paper as another case of robbing the poor by "favored banks." When he is whacking Watterson or chastising Cleveland, Bryan is clever, but when he touches money or banking or any phase of constructive statesmanship he seems to go helplessly into the air.

IN BECOMING editor, proprietor and exclusive writer of the *Commoner*, Mr. Bryan has exposed himself

to a test that few men could stand. He does not even make the *Commoner* a newspaper, but exclusively a paper of political ideas. It is something of a draft upon a man's resources to talk two or three times a day for several months, but when the speeches were delivered to different audiences, two or three or half a dozen at most served for a year's work. But with the *Commoner* the case is different. It must appear every week and go substantially to the same people and therefore cannot be entirely repetitious. Can Mr. Bryan's capacity for constructive statesmanship stand this test? Judging from the first nine numbers it would seem doubtful. The distinguishing characteristic of every number of the *Commoner* thus far is smart thrusts. Now this does very well for silencing questioners in a mass meeting, but it will hardly serve as continuous diet for students of political doctrine, and especially as the gauge of the statesmanship of a national political leader. To be merely a sharp critic, a pert fault-finder, an expert at annoying jabs, may make a brilliant agitator but can hardly make a statesman.

IT IS HIGHLY encouraging to note that the one clear unfaltering voice of statesmanlike fairness on the negro question comes from the trade unions. They are really the first to treat the negro as a man and an equal when he shows equal qualities and character. The attitude of the American Federation on this subject is ably set forth in an editorial by Mr. Gompers in the April *Federationist*, who points out with great frankness that the trade unionists hold out the hand of equal comradeship to the white and colored laborers alike. Instead of ostracising the negro from the unions, they have specially-paid organizers "who are devoting their time exclusively to the organization of the colored workers."

They are showing the good sense, moreover, of not trying to do the impossible by establishing absolute social equality but aiding the negroes to obtain improvement in their economic and social position by exactly the same methods that are employed by the white laborers; namely, intelligent, organized cooperation. This policy contains the element of true statesmanship, which the politicians of South and North alike might well emulate. It is a wholesome, encouraging sign of the times that the much-censured and despised labor unions are the real leaders in this field of statesmanship where politicians have failed.

"The Tammany organization is not democratic in faith or works. It is a private, predatory and criminal business concern operated chiefly to make its managers rich out of public spoils."—*New York Times*.

It would be difficult to give in the same number of words a more correct description of the Fourteenth Street institution. The character, purposes and methods of Tammany are well known to the people, and still it is elected to power year after year. Why is this? Is it because the people of New York city prefer the type of wickedness Tammany represents? Not at all. A majority of the people are in constant rebellion against it. The real reason for Tammany's continuance in power is that the republican party is verily believed to be little better. The people of New York have no more faith in Platt and his followers than they have in Croker and his followers, and, since Tammany has power to injure those who oppose it, directly or indirectly, by persecuting them through the police force, punishing through tax assessors, or otherwise harrassing them in the numerous petty ways that law and authority cannot reach, the people will endure rather than incur all this persecution only to get another organization of the same kind. The depravity

of the republican organization in New York city is really responsible for the perpetuation of Tammany rule.

UNDER THE leadership of Mr. Gorman, Maryland is adopting a more plausible and more equitable method of disfranchising the negro. The Maryland plan is to adopt a uniform educational qualification for voters, regardless of color. This is surely constitutional and not altogether irrational; indeed, it may be necessary. It will doubtless disfranchise a much larger number of negroes than of whites, and in this instance may accomplish the desired results and make Maryland safely democratic for the immediate future. That is of little importance, however, compared with the fact of dealing with the question on broad social principles regardless of race prejudice. Under this scheme, negroes will have the right to vote when they learn to read and write, and white people will not have it unless they do the same. Perhaps there will be some discrimination in favor of the whites, but this cannot prevail against negroes who can actually read and write, which makes their full political citizenship easy of attainment. Mr. Gorman may be unscrupulous but he has more real sense and recognition of the principles of government and the temper of the American people than the Tillmans who would flagrantly violate both the letter and the spirit of the constitution and even the established rights of individuals to coerce the negro out of the franchise,—a method which can never command respect in the United States.

WITH STRIKING unanimity the southern papers reprinted our complimentary remarks on the North Carolina manufacturers' proposal "voluntarily to adopt the ten-hour system," with flattering remarks on the supe-

riority of the southern employers over the northern in their treatment of labor. The Houston (Texas) *Post* proudly remarks:

"We are more tolerant to labor of all kinds in the South than they are in the North. . . . And it is fortunate for the factory laborer of the South that in the beginning of our industrial or factory life, and during the absence of legal regulations relating to mill labor, the management of the mills is in most cases in the hands of southern men, who do not know how to grind their employees as do the big bosses of other sections of the union."

This is really delightful and everybody must hope that it is true. But, unfortunately, since publishing the complimentary passage quoted and commented on by the *Post*, we have discovered that we were in error. The North Carolina manufacturers have not proposed to adopt the ten-hour system at all but only an eleven-hour system. Since no southern manufacturers have yet adopted the ten-hour work-day we shall expect to see these papers hereafter urging them on to do so. We have a right to expect hereafter that southern employers be at least as liberal on the question of employment of children and the hours of factory labor in 1901 as England was in 1847, as Massachusetts was in 1874, and as every eastern state was more than a decade ago. Give honor to whom honor is due, but remember that actions speak louder than words.

AS ANOTHER evidence of progress and improved relations between large corporations and labor, the New York Central Railroad is making it a part of its policy to recognize that it has a duty toward the social and civic welfare of its employees as well as an interest in their economic efficiency. The excellent example set by Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt in erecting a building

for the use of the employees of the New York Central, furnishing attractive quarters for social meeting, well-equipped dining-rooms, sleeping rooms for the men away from home, a library, reading room, baths, gymnasium, lectures, etc., practically free, set the pace which the company is making it a part of its policy to follow. According to a recent report, these facilities are being established along this whole system. An encouraging feature of this is that the company expressly recognizes that it is inspired to this policy for social and patriotic as well as business reasons. They have found that the better the conditions under which the employees live and work the better and more intelligent citizens they are and the more trustworthy and competent workmen. In other words, the experience is that the best economic policy for a large corporation is that which does the most for the social opportunities and personal welfare of the laborers; that the bloodless method of treating labor solely as an instrument of production, out of which the maximum work should be extracted and into which the minimum wealth, opportunity and social culture should be infused, is bad business, bad economy, and ultimately results in bad statesmanship which may react disastrously upon business; in short, that it is as uneconomic as it is unpatriotic.

THERE ARE many hopeful indications of progress in the South on the child-labor question. The Columbia (S. C.) *State* declares that:

"Child labor must go, and that the system, as a system, will soon be abolished there is every reason to believe. . . . There must be in the mill-villages not only schools and churches but libraries, reading-rooms, lyceums, and theaters. A life of incessant toil makes a poor workman. Diversion is requisite to efficiency."

The Farmer's Review (Texas), in criticising the

Georgia democrats for refusing to pass a child-labor law, says:

"No state deserves to be called civilized that does not possess a sufficient amount of virtue to protect helpless children against the brutality of capitalism."

By way of encouragement, the Raleigh (N. C.) *News and Observer* says:

"It is gratifying to see that mill-owners, church leaders, educators, and the press are agreed that child labor shall end in the factories. There may be here and there disagreement as to the manner of putting a stop to it, but an effective method will be found to do it. . . . The children must be saved from the dwarfing process of early confinement in the factories! It will not do to wait another year for this reform that is demanded in the name of humanity."

In his recent message to the legislature the governor of South Carolina says:

"Unless something is done to protect the tender children of vampire parents, who spend their time in idleness and live off the labor of their little ones, who are required to labor in the mills from year to year without the advantages of school, the situation for the future becomes alarming."

In Alabama a bill for the prevention of child labor under twelve years of age is before the legislature and is being liberally supported by the newspapers of the state. Substantially the same measure has been introduced into the senate of South Carolina. It is thus clear that, although the Georgia legislature has refused to pass the child-labor bill, the movement is marching on and is bound soon to succeed.

THE USES OF INSECURITY

LEONORA B. HALSTED

The desire for security is world-wide and age-long. The effort to attain it has been a large factor in civilization, building dykes to preserve what has been gained by arduous toil. It is the rear guard of the revolution that is always going on, for progress means peril. Conservatism never imitates; it holds fast but does not reach out. Disaster may be made to pay toll, as in life insurance; man may be protected increasingly from the ruthlessness of his creation, machinery, or the careless rapacity of other men; but while protective measures are taken at one end, daring runs out at the other. It performs new feats of peril, it risks all for possible gain, it wins new victories over matter regardless of hazard. The very pivot of civilization lies here; man is dissatisfied to rest in what he has obtained and leaps forward across chasms and seas and continents to what he may get if his life is not lost in the effort. Countless lives are so lost but man lives, and, after many years, if he faint not, reaps the reward.

While there is this vigor of incentive for the enterprising, there is the deadly spur of actual starvation for the laggard. Nothing less will move him and sometimes even that fails. It has been argued that if a living wage of the lowest amount were inviolably secure, men would be saved a great waste of force in worry and apprehension and there would be still endless incentives to progress. So there would, but without that final goad of absolute insecurity there are always some who would not answer to the higher motives. At one extreme is the parasite, a species

comparatively unknown in this country, and which is predicted will disappear in the twentieth century, the world following the example of America where the rule is that every man shall work. Of the other extreme a convincing illustration was the case of some miners in Pennsylvania. They earned their daily wages by digging coal, married and brought up children, had thrifty little homes with the decencies of life and even some of its ornaments. Oil was discovered and the oil company controlling that region made a standing offer to buy at the market price any well that might be opened. Wells were found on every side and almost every miner became an owner. A regular income, unearned by daily work, was secured to them, a trifle to be sure, one or two hundred dollars a year, but energy could not withstand the temptation. They ceased work and settled down in idleness to live on their incomes. They degenerated, their standard of living fell, their wives became slatterns, their children grew up without schooling and vicious, their homes were tumble-down, untidy hovels. Security, even at this minimum, ruined them, and a thriving village became a festering sore. And this in America, where the air breathes energy and enterprise.

Even if security went no further than to assure a man of work by which he and his family could live, a demand seemingly modest, Mallock has long since pointed out that this would mean no colonization, no America, no Australian commonwealth. Population like water finds its level. When it becomes easier to emigrate, with all that implies, it signifies much suffering at home and a general diffusion of insecurity.

Change of occupation resulting from new wants and methods is another cause for insecurity that keeps men alert, versatile, intelligent. It is not the guiding of one machine but the power to learn quickly any

machine that makes now the capable workman, and through him sets our industries at the head of the world. Intelligence alone economizes. Ignorance and dullness waste opportunities that the intelligent seize. The saving of a fifth of a second in one movement of a machine touched by the left hand instead of the right makes the difference between profit and loss.

Urban life with all its implications causes a thousand perils and a million activities unknown before. Light is an example. The candle was as safe as fire can be, but who would be content with candles? Fluid lamps, explosive and nauseous, came as an improvement, then oil, then gas, then electricity; always the finer force, the more brilliant light, the greater peril. Or, transportation shows. In the days of horse-cars they caused no accidents. To-day every paper records one or more injuries from trolleys or cables, and frequent deaths result therefrom, yet what town would choose to resume horse-cars?

In fact, when one stops to think, one realizes that every condition of life is based on insecurity. No man is consulted about coming into this world nor about leaving it, and all the way between birth and death insecurity fosters every virtue. The infant falls many times before he learns the magic art of keeping on his feet, but then he increases fast in wisdom. Insecurity makes him by degrees self-reliant, dextrous to avoid danger, shrewd in calculating consequences, keen to foresee events. It comes to be recognized as the normal and healthy human state. All of us sigh for certainty, no matter of how little, and life teaches us that it is only by incessant peril that we gain courage, adaptability, calmness, unselfishness. With security we are apt to become lax. While we walk the tight rope of this hour over the abyss of what may be, the situation keeps us alert and tolerates no drowsy-headed

indolence. Balancing on the rope with no net beneath is excellent development for the muscles. We gain poise, and every instant snatch the blossom safety from the nettle danger. We are like Eliza flying across the river on broken ice. To pause is to be swept away or to drown. On, on, on we must go, resting our weight here only for the moment it takes us to throw it forward. Ahead is freedom and life, behind are the dogs of slavery, and all about us are hopes and fears, a clamoring throng.

It is not a restful picture, but rest is not for this phase, unless it be the rest the heart gets between its beats. For rest we must go up higher. Serenity comes not through security of material things but through laying hold of the eternal verities, changeless in their shining, inalterably secure, "letting us pent-up creatures through into eternity, our due." But eternity itself can give us only this moment to live; that is why time is.

While it is quite true that insecurity pushes us on ceaselessly, it is equally true that what is secure increases from age to age, and we inherit in ease what myriads have bled to attain. The savage has nothing secure, the American of 1900 has much. But when the dyke is built a great deal yet remains to be done, and insecurity touches continually to finer issues. The idea of the monogamic tie is secure in Christendom (despite the many aberrations in practice), and hence the holding of love, its growth in harmony, becomes the flower-strewn field of victory or defeat. Love is the solvent of nearly all troubles; love wisely directed, loyally lived out. Adjustment and readjustment, the twice-daily ebb and flow of affection, unselfishness, wisdom, is at once the practice and aim of home-life. To love and be lovable, with the constant change that begets constancy, are the means.

"Love needs a thousand loves, forever new.

"And finds them—in the hollow of your hand."

The nation encompasses all individuals and families, and the same need for the prod of insecurity is here manifest. After the civil war was over and slavery was abolished, we were inclined to say: "We have settled our formidable problems, we can take now our ease." And we did, waxing rich and self-confident, maintaining a sturdy independence with a rising standard of living that surpassed any in the world. Then came the time for the test. It had to be made evident to ourselves and to others whether or no we were intent upon what is supreme. We were confronted with a cry, and we answered it. The tyranny of Spain over Cuba was ended, whatever the future may bring. On the whole, we were adequate to the demand made upon us. Though all of us were reluctant and some were recalcitrant, we moved across the threshold, out of our measureless content into the fuller life of the world, drawn by the pull of human need. In consequence we find ourselves before the door closed for ages, now at last ajar, whose opening has such illimitable significance for the destiny of man.

Power to do is responsibility to achieve. In our little hour of strain all the weak links snapped and an immense amount of strength had to be exercised for comparatively trivial tasks, because security had bred indolence and inadequacy. It is the bane of Anglo-Saxons, the defect of their splendid quality of self-reliance, that they appreciate too little the need of training and discipline. Witness the mortifying failure of our transportation and medical systems in the Spanish-American war; see England's resources strained to put down the Boers. Germany, on the contrary, is so situated that enemies are on every side; her insecurity is great and she trusts only in watchfulness, in discipline,

in endless vigilance and practice. Hence she has the finest army in the world. Insecurity keeps all the rust rubbed from her arms. China, immemorially wrapped in her security of isolation, finds herself now the football of every other nation, for none is so inert as she. Even while her people are murdered, her towns ravaged, her capital held by the hated foreigners, she considers herself the supreme monarch of the universe to whose empress the powers come to kotow.

But—China! How can a Christian say the word and his face not burn with shame? Christendom is on trial there and how does it bear the test? If we are firm in virtue evil does not allure. Temptation proves whether our security is fancied or real. As dust reflects light, and our eyes are so adjusted that we should be in darkness no matter how intense the light were it not for these dusty particles, so should we be without the insecurity of temptation. "Outer darkness" simply means the darkness outside the light for which we are prepared. The light is there but it is not light to us because our medium is dust. On the other hand, the dust may be so impenetrable that light cannot be reflected, and then indeed are we in thick darkness.

Christendom was secure in its "vice outlived," its savagery civilized, its brutalities humanized. The Red Cross treaty, signed by every nation, including China, mitigated the sufferings of war and gave efficient protection to non-combatants. But what do we see when the test comes? The heathen does heathenish acts and Christendom sends representatives to chastise him, each country her own, and Japan besides; what will they do? Relieve those they have come to save, of course, and with a severity that shall be just if implacable. But when this is accomplished what more do we see?—It is unspeakable for shame.

A few years ago Europe was agog against the Turk

for his massacres in Armenia; Christendom cried aloud with indignation that some one should prevent these horrors. Now, Christendom in China rivals the Turk in every atrocity and doubles the number of victims. Not only is the Kaiser's savage dictum obeyed—"Give no quarter; take no prisoners"—but, when for months there has been no armed opposition, the helpless non-combatants, men, women and children are bayoneted in heaps; ammunition being too precious to waste; infants are plucked from their mothers' arms and impaled or tossed in the river; women meet a worse fate unless they escape by death—and this is the work of Christendom. Millard says: "The graves of the Simcox and Green children (martyred missionaries' families) might be enclosed by a fence, each picket bearing the name of a Chinese boy or girl who has, within three months just passed, suffered worse at the hands of men whose skins are white. Against the awful background of this war, the death of the few missionaries is lost in the mists of a ghastly perspective." Not only every vestige of mercy but any pretence of justice has vanished among the most of the allies; and those most capable and least cruel do not belong to Christendom but are Japanese.

Not that Americans are known to have taken part in the outrages of every sort that have stigmatized the allies. Indeed, while one's heart is rent and one's intellect is horrified by the conduct of these troops, it assuages a little to turn to the quarter of Peking controlled by Americans. A single company of American soldiers policed a district there inhabited by 250,000 Chinese, giving them unbought justice such as they had never known, keeping order, and winning respect and esteem from the Chinese under their protection.

But after all, America is one of the allies, and hasn't she responsibilities even if her men do not take

part in the acts of her comrades-in-arms? Christendom indeed! It does not follow even the Mosaic code. What commandment, from the greatest to the least, has Christendom failed to break in China? And we stand by, silent. Europe was blamed for not preventing the Turk; should America keep silence and remain in view of her allies' actions? No doubt the complications are immense, but a thorough American has said: "Failure to dare greatly is often to run the greatest of risks."

Where security has its rightful base, and there alone, is in principle. This is the rock of ages, the foundation of the universe. Matter, and all conditions dependent thereon, is in a perpetual flux; its law is change, hence its very being is insecure; but above matter security is reached. General principles cover all men's actions. To accommodate the action by compromising the principle is to sacrifice the greater to the less. But perception must come before action, before even striving to act. We must realize that a thing is desirable before making an effort to attain it. That is where America leads and her glory lies. She has seen and voiced the truth that all men are born free and equal, not in worldly goods nor mental endowments, but in liberty from the coercion of other men. This idea she takes with her to China or elsewhere. Obedience to the law is enforced, for it is a principle and hence to it any man may be sacrificed; she may kill but she will not murder; she may confiscate but she will not thief. Democracy applies the law equally, in theory at least. Of course in application we come again to the value of insecurity and the need of vigilance.

The perils that now surround us, within even more than without, the vast responsibilities accumulating on our shoulders, should keep us alive to the danger of security. It may be well even that our fancied immu-

nity from savagery in our own breasts should be broken up, and that we should look into the seething mass of uncurbed passions, since they are there. But the sense of failure, not of one's little self, which is bad enough, but of a great entity, set on the highest hill the world has, such as Christendom, is hard indeed to bear. Nothing is so unnerving as failure. Grief has an exaltation of its own; suspense stretches at least a line across the abyss, but to fail is to fall headlong into it. Of course there is nothing left but to crawl out as best one may, and an immense help in this task is the recognition that to fail is to find there is a lesson we need to learn. The sense of failure empties one of conceit and it may be desirable for us to be overturned perilously rather than carry further the poisonous stuff, for there is nothing more hindering than conceit, than self-righteousness in any form. Perhaps the first step out of this pit of failure is to realize that while some people in every nation are still savages, they are fewer than they were a thousand, even a hundred, years ago; and the better people of every nation have the ideals Christ implanted for every human being.

Despite the cruel, unnecessary horrors, it is a glorious time to live, to feel oneself part of the epoch-making whole. Obligation means capacity; we are responsible only for that which is possible, but all things seem possible now. Democracy has become the solvent word not only for us but for the world; it is the political form of Christianity. It may take time to educate the Filipinos, the Chinese, to the meaning of democracy, which is not license at all but its very opposite, self-restraint and hence freedom. However, time is of no consequence in view of an idea, and the democratic idea towers higher day by day before the eyes of an astonished world. Decrease in rents, increase in wages; money bringing return only in use, is the democratic

idea in economics. Daring, invention, concentration of capital and administrative ability win the great prizes. The greater the risk, the more alert the mind and the larger the return. The joy of the situation is that no man can work profitably to himself in any sphere without serving others; the more he gives of himself, the greater his gains, and thus even selfishness is curved to the perfect round.

Democracy in all ways, the freedom of the individual through the unity of man, is the task set to the world; the final task apparently, for beyond the perfect law of liberty for every human being, what is there? The time is throbbing with new opportunities, new bourgeonings, new life pricking through the black soil of ancient customs and promising food for coming millions. Goethe saw the truth in Faust's highest moment of bliss; not accomplishment, but the power to accomplish, and not for himself but for others.

"He only earns his freedom and existence

"Who daily conquers them anew."

Hence the significance of this era: for the first time man enters into the full inheritance of the earth. The vision from the mountain top is mighty, majestically divine. It awes. And when we come down a little, how the blood riots in exultation! All this is ours, ours as sons of God. And *noblesse oblige*. Here is where aristocracy and democracy meet: no man can have a more noble ancestor, and every man is sure of this pedigree.

Once the meaning is made clear, one can suffer with "durable cheerfulness, a serene blitheness," whatever may come, be it in the great life of the world or one's own petty, poignant part. So, seeing, we come to understand how "future historians will look back upon this period as the one of most breathless interest in human annals."

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Industrial Education

We are requested by the Manufacturers' Association of New York to call attention to an appropriation of \$2,000 recently made by the association, for a scholarship to cover four year's tuition and expenses for some young man to take a thorough course in industrial education. The particular young man is to be selected by a competitive test, particulars of which may be obtained by application to the association at 198 Montague Street, Brooklyn Borough. Although as yet provision is made for the education of only one young man, the step is intended to serve as an object-lesson to arouse interest in industrial training as an increasingly acute necessity in the present industrial expansion of the nation. The purpose of the appropriation is stated to be "to encourage young men to qualify themselves for leadership in industrial pursuits by adding to the dignity of labor the advantage of trained hands directed by developed minds."

Although of not very widespread interest, this is interesting as an evidence of the increased pressure in the industrial community for men of trained capacity and peculiar ability to organize and direct business operations on the enormous scale demanded by present-day conditions. As we had occasion to mention in a recent number, the head of one large industrial concern recently stated that several positions under his control, each commanding upwards of \$10,000 a year salary, were vacant through sheer inability to find men competent to fill them. However true it may be, therefore, that the great majority can never attain to any of these exceptional posts, it is certainly clear that the doors of special opportunity for special talent were never wider open nor the demand greater than to-day.

**Saving Dollars
and Wasting Men**

In accordance with Governor Odell's "economy" program in New York state, the bureau of labor statistics, board of factory inspectors and board of arbitration have been consolidated into one department of labor, with a single commissioner and several deputies in charge of the various departments thus consolidated. Since the object of this change was solely "economy," it is needless to say that there will be no increase in the force employed, but if anything a decrease. It is understood that a part of the proposed economy will come from making the factory inspectors collect statistics and do the bulk of the work formerly done by the employees of the bureau of labor statistics.

This is simply a case of trying to save a few thousand dollars of public money, utterly insignificant in the total budget, by a method which wastes an indefinitely larger amount in the quality of the community's civilization. Instead of having more labor put upon them, the factory inspectors ought to be left entirely to the work they were first intended to do, and their numbers materially increased. How appalling are the evils these few inspectors are called upon to contend with can hardly be indicated by mere statistics. A few hints may be gained, however, from the last annual report of the state factory inspector, made before the consolidation. "The field is so vast," said the inspector, "and so difficult of inspection that more facilities are plainly needed to enable the department to maintain an almost constant espionage over the most thickly settled and populated sections of the cities wherein this class of work is carried on." The New York law provides for the licensing of home manufacture under certain conditions, and of course the success or failure of the scheme depends upon the effectiveness with which the conditions in such shops

can be held up to the standard required by the license. During 1900 some 16,519 licenses were granted in greater New York. In these licensed places there were 39,598 persons employed. This is a sufficiently large field for the comparatively small number of inspectors permitted by the law, and it is only necessary to read the state inspector's account of the extraordinary scenes encountered in visiting these shops and procuring evidence sufficient to warrant interference for enforcement of the law, to realize how reactionary and unappreciative of the grave nature of this social problem any proposition is which aims to reduce instead of increase the facilities provided to grapple with it.

In spite of all the inspectors have been able to do, and in spite of the supposed improvement in sweatshop conditions, we still have a situation so vile as to make one shudder merely to read the unembellished statement of the facts. Mr. James B. Reynolds, the well-known head-worker of the University Settlement, in a recent letter to the *New York Tribune*, had this to say (in part) concerning the east-side bakeshops:—

“Extensive questioning has convinced me that fifteen and sixteen hours daily would not be an overestimate of the average day's work performed by the east side bakers. One baker with whom one of our residents talked gave the above time as his average, but stated that on Thursday and Friday he worked twenty-one and twenty-two hours. Another stated that he worked eighteen hours four days in the week and twenty-two hours two days. Another that he went to work at 6 P.M. and regularly worked until 2 o'clock the next afternoon, the only exception being on Thursday, when he went to work at 2 o'clock and worked until 11 o'clock the next day.

“The sanitary conditions in these shops, which are usually in basements, are such that I believe no one could eat the bread if he knew how it was made. The bread made in the east side shops is usually baked in a large loaf and is smeared with egg to give the top of the loaf a certain gloss. The eggs used for this purpose are frequently such as would stagger an egging party. They are bought at from 25 to 50 cents a hundred, and some of the bakers have assured us that they were not infrequently positively rotten.

“The rooms are constantly kept at a most unwholesome heat, in

order to raise the bread, the workers toiling in trousers and flannel shirts. In no shops visited by us were there signs of recent whitewashing of the side walls, which, under the law, the factory inspector may require to be done once in three months. In one shop, dingy whitewash was peeling off directly over the place where the bread was being made. In this shop the men were dirty and their clothing was dirty. There were no windows, except over the tables where the bread was being made. No waterclosets are provided as a rule, unless it is in a corner of the room used for the bakeshop, in which case the stench of the closet adds to the general bad odor of the place. Men frequently sleep in the bakeshops on the benches where the bread is rolled, or even on the bread itself."

In the face of such a situation as this, to diminish the practical efforts to cope with it is something worse than poor statesmanship. It practically amounts to withholding the arm of the law in one of the very quarters where more than anywhere else its strength is needed in ten-fold greater degree than it has ever yet been given. Conditions like these in the tenement-house districts lie at the root of many of the worst evils running through our political and social fabric. For the state to do its utmost towards wiping out these sources of contaminated citizenship is enormously more important than the building of armories or digging of barge canals.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Our Right to Govern

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—When I hear a man say "Where we cannot govern by democracy we have no right to govern at all," I want to listen to him.

HENRY B. GRUBB, Burlington, N. J.

Popular Nominations by Petition

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I read with interest your last lecture regarding the nominations of candidates, in which you considered and approved the direct primary nomination. The scheme seems to me a most excellent one. It has come to my attention but recently, but it more and more attracts me. It would certainly make the life of a leader of a machine a most precarious one if he continued to exist at all. I wish we could secure its adoption.

JAMES B. REYNOLDS,

Head Worker University Settlement,
New York City.

"The Peril of Popular Government"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am much pleased with your *Lecture Bulletin* of February 15th, and congratulate you and all good citizens upon your having the independence and courage to publish it. I have for many years known that the condition you describe existed and felt that the facts should be brought to the notice of all honest men, but I have never been able to get such absolute proof of a clear case as you have published. You are doing excellent and much needed work in the noble cause of popular government and should have the sympathy and support of every man fit to be a citizen of the United States.

SAMUEL ADAMS ROBINSON, M. D.,
Portland, Oregon.

Mr. Washington on the Jamaica Color Problem

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read Mr. Moritzen's article on Jamaica and the color problem in your January number and noted the kindly and generous reference to myself. The article is most illuminating and encouraging. It is the wisest and best thing that has been written on the color problem in Jamaica. We all feel grateful to you for having given place to this subject. I am taking measures to see that the article gets a wide reading by calling attention to it through the medium of some of the strongest colored papers.

I am becoming more and more interested in your magazine and am constantly indebted to you for the brave and generous things you say so often in regard to my own race.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON,
Principal Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

QUESTION BOX

Prosperity or Expansion

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Was it not a mistake, for fear of a possible financial panic and era of hard times, for us to depart from our precedents, and vote for colonialism? It seems a short-sighted policy to commit ourselves to a course which may be the means of undermining the very prosperity we voted to sustain. R. K. N.

No, it could hardly be regarded as a mistake, because no other course was open without inviting national disaster, which would have been worse. Nothing at present could have been worse than the election of Bryan. Under the circumstances that would have been an endorsement of all that is vicious and false in the undigested reckless program he represented. Of course the issues were confused. It was impossible to reject the Philippine policy without taking Bryan, who represented all that was dangerous, without any guarantee of a materially different policy in the Philippines.

Our Duty to Cuba

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR:—Since the senate resolutions have committed this country to perpetual interference with both the domestic and foreign affairs of Cuba, why not annex the island outright? For us to have this unlimited power while the Cuban government stands responsible for the consequences is to open the largest field for corruption and carpet-bagging anywhere in sight on the political horizon. If we are practically to run Cuba's affairs ought we not to assume the responsibility also?

G. P. S.

We went to war to get Cuba its freedom and we are in honor bound to Cuba and to the world as well as to our own interests to give Cuba its freedom. By freedom is meant self-government without a lot of meddling interference from us. It should not be assumed, however, that self-government means absolute sovereignty—that is to say, freedom for Cuba to do whatever it may see fit in utter disregard of the interests of the United States, such for instance, as selling the island to some European country. In that case we should be justified in objecting on the principle of the Monroe doctrine. It was in the spirit of the Monroe doctrine that we helped Cuba drive out Spain. It would be a part of the same doctrine that we prevent any other European nation coming in. But if Cuba wanted to be annexed to Mexico that would be another matter. It does not seem unreasonable to ask for the right of coaling stations after what we have done for Cuba, but to meddle further with its internal affairs would clearly be interference wholly inconsistent with the right of self-government. Whatever rights we retain in regard to Cuba should simply be in self-defence, consistent with the Monroe doctrine.

Yes, such meddling would clearly be a fruitful opportunity for an era of corrupt and discreditable carpet-bagging. The reconstruction period in the South has demonstrated what we can do in that line. The influence of politicians over the national administration is already too great for us safely to give any new opportunities in that direction. Far better that Cuba make a few mistakes in the experiment of self-government than that she should be subjected to the corrupting, debasing influence of the Platts and Quays with their Quiggs and Bidwells and other minions of the "boss" system in this country, which apparently permeates our politics from primary to white house. Cuba should be

given practical independence, within the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, and then with as great expedition as possible the same policy should be instituted in the Philippines and Porto Rico, and Hawaii as well. Friendly relations, coaling station facilities, and promise not to sell out to foreign powers, are all the control we should exercise over any of these island peoples.

Meaning of the Cleveland and Toledo Elections

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—How do you account for the election of Tom L. Johnson mayor of Cleveland, and the democratic successes in numerous municipal elections where public ownership was the issue? Does it mean the growth of socialism, or dissatisfaction with the McKinley administration?

E. G. M.

The election of Tom L. Johnson as mayor of Cleveland, and the reelection of "Golden Rule Jones" as mayor of Toledo, are the materialization of the growing public sentiment away from the administration and towards socialism. There are several forces actively contributing to this result. First, the increasing unpopularity of the McKinley administration. It is becoming more obvious every day that it is largely a "boss"-ridden administration, and what makes the case worse is that it is fully as much so in the second term as in the first. The American people are liberal in their construction of such things, they know that in the first term of a president he may be under many obligations that he would gladly avoid — obligations that were created for him and over which he had practically no control. But in a second term, when there is no opportunity to plan for reelection, it is obvious that the highest and broadest statesmanship can be properly

expected from him, and a wholesome moral independence of "boss" dictation may be demanded. In these respects Mr. McKinley is disappointing. He seems to have no more moral strength to resist these discreditable and discredited corrupters in his second term than in his first, which shows lack of the true stuff of which presidents should be made. This is becoming manifest in so many ways that the people are losing faith in the administration and in the party it represents.

Mr. Bryan, on the other hand, as leader of the democratic forces, has used and is now using all his opportunities to sow the seeds of political disruption, shake the faith of the people in existing methods and men in every department of public life. All this is very naturally creating a disposition among the people to cry "plague on both your houses," and where they see honesty and capacity leading the forces of socialism they are more and more disposed to join the movement and make the experiment. This sentiment is growing everywhere throughout the country.

In Cleveland, the strong, emphatic, comparatively consistent man appeared in the person of Tom L. Johnson, and he had plenty of money. At least for a time Cleveland will probably get a vigorous administration that will be honest and clean. The new broom will reach many of the cobweb corners, which may do much to put Mr. Johnson in line for promotion. Patriotic proclamations and weak submissiveness to the worst elements of political life will destroy the popularity of any administration or party that indulges in it. When the people get disgusted with their idols they smash them with a ruthless hand. No administration since Lincoln's has had such a good opportunity for establishing a policy of high statesmanship and clean politics as the present one.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE UNITED STATES IN THE ORIENT. By Charles A. Conant. Cloth, 237 pages, \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston.

This book is a series of seven essays published in different magazines from 1898 to 1900 on different phases of expansion. Mr. Conant is a careful economic writer, one who has more than an average regard for facts. He follows essentially the lines of the Manchester school, and therefore usually observes economic phenomena through the telescope, always attaching great importance to foreign economic conditions, especially markets a long way off. From the point of view of this school it usually seems more important to do a dollar's worth of trade in India, China or Russia than five dollars worth at home. Familiarity seems to "breed contempt," while "distance ever lends enchantment to the view."

In his chapter on "Russia as a World Power" he gives an interesting account of the development of industry in Russia. From the immense figures, in rubles converted into dollars, one would almost feel that Russia is rapidly forging to the front as a manufacturing country with commensurate progress in her people. The condition of labor is described as improving and wages rising, which may soon be expected to put the Russian factory operative "upon a level with his fellow in western Europe and America." But when, in the same tone, we are told that: "Technical education is finding a large place in the policy of the Russian government," and find there were only twelve higher technical schools in the country in 1896, the rose color begins to vanish from the picture.

It needs a little optimism to think of "twelve higher technical schools" as giving technical education "a large place in the policy" of a nation with a hundred millions of population. Russia is indeed a world power, but is destined to become comparatively less so unless it takes on industrial diversification and the spirit of liberalizing its institutions much faster than it has hitherto done. Its conduct in China has served to reveal anew the barbaric elements in the Russian character. Even in the official relations with nations it is cunning and evasive. More than any other country called civilized, it employs spies and conspirators to accomplish its ends. It is constantly being found to have agents at work fomenting revolution at foreign courts in order that it may find an excuse to use force to obtain from weaker neighbors what it otherwise would not dare demand. The prediction that "Russia promises in another generation to be the great competitor of the Anglo-Saxon race for the commercial and military supremacy of the world" may be taken at some discount.

It is no less misleading to assume that the struggle for commercial superiority involves the capture of the world's markets. Commercial strength and international influence do not necessarily rest upon foreign trade. A nation is strong financially and politically as it advances in civilization, which, converted into commercial terms, means according to the social welfare of its people. It is not great by what it sells to other countries, but by what it consumes in its own. The influence of the United States among the nations is not to be acquired by rivalling the other powers in China, but by the development of the character of our own people and the resources of our own country.

Mr. Conant seems to entertain considerable apprehension lest capital should accumulate too fast and not

find an outlet in foreign countries. He is very much afraid lest the rate of interest should fall to the vanishing point, compelling capital to go recklessly into industry. The danger is more apparent than real. Abundance of capital will undoubtedly tend to lower the rate of interest, but it will tend to the use of capital for the minimum return, and thus give to the community the maximum share in the earnings of capital. This means an increased exploitation of nature and diminution in the price of commodities. The secondary effect of that is to increase the employment of labor, and also the aggregate consumption of goods. When capital becomes abundant it will also diminish the incentive for saving, which is equivalent to stimulating the incentive to use. Whatever stimulates consumption, whether by diminishing the impulse to save or increasing the capacity to produce, contributes to a higher standard of living and national welfare. Under such a state of affairs profits may be smaller but investments and consumption will be greater, which means that a more democratic distribution of wealth will be established. Moreover, this very process will tend automatically to lessen the relative increase of capital, both by diminishing the rate of profits and the rate of savings.

There is no danger to be feared from too much capital. There are abundant opportunities for increased economic investments in this country for an indefinite future. Moreover, there is no reason why American capital may not go to the Orient without being accompanied by American armies and navies and political authority. It is not necessary to own a country in order to trade with it.

Mr. Conant has written a very interesting and in many respects instructive book. It is an intelligent contribution to the discussion of the expansion problem,

but it falls far short of showing any great advantages to be gained either to this country or to Asia by thrusting the United States permanently into the political affairs of the Orient.

THE AGE OF FAITH. By Amory H. Bradford, D.D. Cloth, 306 pp., \$1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

This book is one of the many bridges that are being thrown across the gulf of misunderstanding that has so long divided in useless controversy those who should be allied in friendly cooperation. It is typical of the best spirit of the times, which does not demand the surrendering of denominational traditions, but mutual recognition of the larger and worthier objects that ought to inspire every organized religious body. The movement is not towards giving up individuality, but it is towards unity of belief and aim *with* independence of form and method—"liberty *and* union."

Dr. Bradford is clearly among those who recognize that the Christian church is really entitled to bear that name only in proportion as it devotes itself to upholding and spreading the great essentials of religion instead of wrangling over dogmatic theology. We do not mean to imply, however, that the author ignores theology as of no importance. His attitude is not at all that theological problems cannot be solved or theological differences reconciled, and that both should therefore be dodged or evaded because of the larger importance of something more useful; on the contrary, "The Age of Faith" is decidedly a theological book, but its purpose is to show that even in this ancient hot-bed of controversy the excuse for controversy has largely passed away.

In a spirit very similar to that of Dr. Rylance, whose "Christian Rationalism" we reviewed in these

pages in January, 1899, Dr. Bradford shows how the broader and less "wintry" modern conceptions of religion are not only consistent with the great sources of Christian belief but infinitely more in harmony with the chief of those sources than anything in the hard, mechanical creeds worked out by the dim light of medievalism in an age when excommunication and inquisition here, and threats of everlasting torture hereafter, were the chief weapons of theological assault and defence.

The title of the book was apparently suggested by Dr. Henry van Dyke's "Gospel for an Age of Doubt," but Dr. Bradford writes from the point of view that: "Instead of being an age of doubt, in comparison with other times, this is an age of faith." It is natural, therefore, to find the spirit of optimism running through the volume; indeed, the author declares that the necessary result of the modern point of view on these matters is to "furnish a sure basis for optimism;" even after applying to the claims of religion so severe a test as this:

"The days of authority are gone. No one any longer believes anything simply because it was formerly believed. 'Is it reasonable?' Even revelation is brought to this test. The truth for an age of faith, above all other things, must be reasonable. Whatever contradicts reason and the moral sense cannot be of God. Whatever harmonizes with reason and the moral sense presumptively is true."

Dr. Bradford is an orthodox clergyman, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Montclair, New Jersey, and illustrates in his attitude that transformation of religious thought within denominational lines of which other conspicuous examples are found in such men as Lyman Abbott, Newell Dwight Hillis and Heber Newton, and, in a somewhat less positive but hardly less significant sense, Henry van Dyke, Bishop Potter, Dr. Parkhurst, Dr. Gunsaulus and scores of others. "The Age of Faith," voicing this tendency in

a new way and most admirable non-controversial spirit, is one of the sort of books of which we can say, literally for all practical purposes, that too many cannot be forthcoming.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MINNESOTA. Its History and Administration. By Frank L. McVey, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. Cloth, 236 pp. 75 cents.

Unlike many of the books that are now going through the press, this is not a series of articles and lectures delivered and published at different times and places and finally put together as a book. On the contrary, it is wrought out with the specific object of presenting, as the author tells us, "a harmonious picture of the history and government of the commonwealth of Minnesota," and the work is well done. Prof. McVey has analyzed and presented in readable form all the features and phases of government in state, county, city and township which exist in Minnesota. He gives withal an interesting account of the physical conditions of Minnesota together with something of its history, supplemented by a very instructive chronological account of the important events affecting the development of the state from 1634 to 1900. Under appropriate headings our author gives a succinct explanation of the constitution, bill of rights, and the powers and duties of the offices within the state, from governor to pound-keeper. The workings of the political institutions are so clearly explained that the inquiring mind of any age can fully comprehend. The methods of nominations and election and the character of primaries and conventions are admirably set forth.

It is clear from this book that Minnesota is well to the front in applying modern ideas of government, having learned either from experience or the reputation

of the older states that nominating conventions, while in theory representing the people, are in reality an organized method of "boss" or "ring" nominations. Whatever they might once have been, they have now become the instrument of corrupt manipulation and dictatorship in our political life. They have become effective means by which nomination to public office is made the result of corrupt bargains by which both elections and appointments to public office are bought and sold, by which legislation is dictated and corporations blackmailed under the threat of legislation.

Minnesota appears to have been the first state to take steps to protect its citizens from coercion and its business men from blackmail, by abolishing the nominating convention altogether and substituting in its place direct nominations by the people, or, as it is called "nomination by petition," which has long been in operation with such signal success in England. Prof. McVey further tells us that Minnesota has taken still another step in the fortification of clean politics in adopting a "corrupt-practices act," which follows very closely along the lines of the act by the same title that was passed in England in 1867. In a very full appendix is given the growth of the population of Minnesota, the growth of cities, the act establishing the territorial government, 1849; the enabling act of 1857; the act for the admission of Minnesota into the union, 1858; the constitution of the state and bill of rights, adopted in 1857; etc. It is an excellently arranged, well-written book, and is full of information that will be no less useful to adult voters than to college students. It is a good piece of work well done, and fully justifies the author's purpose to "present in a small volume a harmonious picture of the history and government of the commonwealth of Minnesota."

THE RELIGION OF DEMOCRACY. A Memorandum of Modern Principles. By Charles Ferguson. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London, 1900. Cloth, 170 pp.

If one takes up this book with the expectation of finding democracy discussed with relation to any religious principle or any religious principle discussed in relation to democracy, or their bearing each upon the other, he is in danger of being disappointed. There is no orderly or philosophic discussion of either religion or democracy. God and religion are mixed in with democracy and despotism with great freedom throughout the book, but in such a way as to convey no intelligent idea of either. Just why the book was published is not easy to determine, except as a safety valve by which the author could let off his pent-up emotions which alternate between mistaken pessimism and irrational optimism. He has not been enough in touch with real things to appreciate the usefulness of machinery to mankind, and devotes one chapter to "The Last Day of the Machine Age," which he opens with this hysterical paragraph:

"To-day the world is in bondage to the Law. To-morrow we hope the gospel of Liberty shall again be everywhere proclaimed. It *will* be proclaimed. It will be shouted from the house-tops and sung in the streets, and it will be necessary to go into a closet and stop one's ears if one would not hear it. We are at the lowest ebb; the tide will surely turn; then the free, swinging seas will come rushing in, and the king and his courtiers, the doctors and lawyers, will have to gather up their skirts and run."

One would think from the following that the author was living in eighteenth-century England, when the cry of "No popery" was the ever ready alarm signal for every occasion:

"In the sphere of institutional religion the century has witnessed the rehabilitation of Romanism and the sacerdotalizing movement in the Episcopal Churches of England and the United States The

triumphal career of Mr. Moody and General Booth means what the resurgence of the Papacy means—that a man is nothing unless he is a crowd, and that the mind is nothing without a miracle.”

There may be a religion of democracy, but, whatever it is, Mr. Ferguson has not presented it. The English-speaking people at least have passed the point in progress where the “No popery” cry can be effectively used either as a signal for reform or a banner of revolution. Those who have not learned this fact can be of little service as teachers or leaders in the twentieth century.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Falstaff and Equity. By Charles E. Phelps, judge of the supreme court of Baltimore. With an introduction by Henry A. Clapp, Esq. Gilt top, 12mo, \$1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

The Spanish People : Their Origin, Growth and Influence. By Martin A. S. Hume. Cloth, 12mo. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Ten Months a Captive Among Filipinos. Being a Narrative of Adventure and Observation during imprisonment on the Island of Luzon. By Albert Sonnichsen. 8vo, \$2. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The Progress of the Century. By Eminent Specialists. Crown, 8vo, 426 pp., \$2. Harper & Brothers, New York.

Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. By Charles McCarthy. 8vo, 300 pp., \$2.50. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

Industrial and Social History of England. By Edward P. Cheyney, professor of European history in the University of Pennsylvania. Cloth, 312 pp., \$1.40. The Macmillan Company, New York. Intended for college and high school classes.

The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom. By Leonard Courtney. Cloth, 383 pp., \$2. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Custom and Competition. By Richard T. Ely, LL.D., author of "Monopolies and Trusts." Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Domestic Service. With an additional chapter on domestic service in Europe. Second edition, cloth, 338 pp., \$2. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays. By Andrew Carnegie. \$2. The Century Company, New York.

A Landmark History of New York. By Albert Ulmann, member of the American Historical Society. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

English Politics in Early Virginia History. By Alexander Brown, author of "The Genesis of the United States," etc. 8vo, \$2. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

China: Travels and Investigations in the "Middle Kingdom"—A Study of its Civilization and Possibilities. Together with an account of the Boxer War, the Relief of the Legations, and the Reestablishment of Peace. By James Harrison Wilson, A.M., LL.D. Third edition, revised throughout, enlarged and reset. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.75. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Canada Under British Rule, 1760-1900. By Sir John G. Bourinot, K. C. M. G., LL. D., author of "Constitutional History of Canada. Cloth, 12mo, 346 pp., \$1.50, net. The Macmillan Company, New York. Containing eight maps.

History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850. By James Ford Rhodes. A new edition in four volumes. Cloth, \$10. The Macmillan Company, New York.

FROM APRIL MAGAZINES

"If the war has disclosed many defects in the British system, it has shown also that, when the British Empire goes to war its sons are but sorry pupils for those who write patriotism a crime. There is not a single British land from the St. Lawrence to the Hugli, from Carlisle Bay to Spencer's Gulf, but has offered its best blood to the cause. The Canadian farmer, the West Indian planter, the Australian station-hand, English earl and Indian prince have nobly fulfilled the poet's challenge:

" 'Shedders of blood! When hath our own been spared?' "

—ALLEYNE IRELAND, in "The Victorian Era of British Expansion;" *North American Review*.

"The 'scab' has but little place in the industrial world of Japan. Last spring six hundred and fifty of the ship-carpenters of Yokohama formed a union and asked to have their wages raised. Previously, however, they sent word to the ship-carpenters of Kobe of their intention to quit work if their request was refused, and asked them not to take their places. The request for an advance was refused, and the men struck. As was expected, the dock company sent for ship-carpenters from three great centers, but even at higher wages the men refused to come. Carpenters were eventually secured from towns not previously warned, but the greater number of these, when informed of the situation, gave up their work and returned home. The result was that the smaller companies took back their men at reduced wages. The Yokohama Dock Company, a powerful corporation, held out, but paid its new men

larger wages than were asked for by the men who struck.—MARY GAY HUMPHREYS, in "Trade-Unions in Japan;" *The Century*.

"American labour is under better control, is more intelligent and ingenious, and works to better purposes than the labour of Great Britain and the continent. Each one of the competing industrial nations is handicapped in some form or other by its workmen. In Great Britain trades unionism devotes its energies to reducing the per diem output of each man to a minimum, in order that employment may go further and wages be higher. Sir Hiram S. Maxim, in a late address, gave an instance of a small gun attachment which the labor union committee classified as a day and a quarter's work. He invented a machine to make it, but the men would produce the piece only in a day and a quarter, even with the machine. He then hired a German workman, who easily produced thirteen pieces in a day.

"A further point is that the British workman celebrates many holidays, compelling the closing of factories for days at a time, during, perhaps, busy periods. In Germany hours are longer nominally, but the entire cessation of work during certain hours of the day for beer and lunches cuts down the units of product. Besides, the German workman, while patient and industrious on familiar lines, is less facile when it comes to new and unaccustomed forms. I have seen in German, Swiss and Alsatian machine shops finer finished machinery than I have ever noticed in America, but under their system it could not be produced cheaply."—ARCHER BROWN, in "American Competition in the World's Engineering Trades;" *Cassier's Magazine* (March).

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The Stock Market Panic

The New York stock market has just passed through a panic of unexampled violence, without the failure of a single important financial house or any disturbance of industrial conditions throughout the country. Whatever else this may indicate, it is the most convincing proof possible of the soundness of our national prosperity and generally stable basis of industry. On the day of the panic, a large number of old-established stocks of steady earning capacity were forced down, on an average of between twenty or thirty points, only to recover promptly as soon as the pressure was over. The losses of speculators and of some *bona fide* investors, by these sudden declines, were enormous, but they were solely the outcome of a stock speculation crisis and not reflected from any real or even imaginary doubt of the soundness and assured earning capacity of the stocks themselves.

The whole disturbance grew out of a fierce struggle by rival interests to secure control of the Northern Pacific railway. Mr. James J. Hill, president of the Great Northern system, with the backing of J. P. Morgan & Co., had secured the cooperation of the Northern Pacific in an effort to buy a controlling interest in the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy road, and through this control to divert to the northern lines a large amount

of traffic which now passes over the Union Pacific route. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy operates a network of important lines out of Chicago, connecting both to the West and North, and is a very essential factor in through East and West business. Naturally, the Union Pacific interests were determined not to have one of their main feeders turned in another direction, and, through the brokerage house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., undertook to get control of the Northern Pacific itself in order to block the C., B. & Q. deal. The rapid buying of course sent up the price of Northern Pacific stock, and here is where the purely speculative interests began to come in. The "bears," as a group, and a large number of general speculators, not being fully aware of the reasons for the rise in Northern Pacific, believed it could not possibly last and therefore sold "short," in the expectation of being able to buy in time for delivery at much lower prices. Of course, the interests that were contending for control of the road bought up every share thus offered by the "shorts," until it finally developed that more stock had been sold in this way than there was in existence, making delivery in a large number of cases impossible.

**How the Crisis
was Passed**

On Thursday, May 9th, the struggle reached its climax. Northern Pacific stock was practically "cornered" and the shares went up to \$700, some even being sold at \$1,000 outside the exchange, according to report. Every available share that could be bought was desperately sought after by the shorts, who had so thoroughly miscalculated the trend of the market, until finally practically none could be had except from the very men to whom the shorts had been selling: namely, the rival interests contending for control of the Northern Pacific system.

The demand for money to buy Northern Pacific at

the fabulous corner prices sent the interest rate up to 50 per cent. on the day of the panic, and forced the selling of standard industrial stocks at enormous sacrifices. There is no question but that a series of disastrous failures and a prolonged financial panic would have resulted had it not been for two saving circumstances—the forming of a special loan fund of nearly \$20,000,000 by a group of prominent banks, and the publishing of an offer by the Kuhn-Loeb holders of Northern Pacific stock, by which the shorts owing any such stock to this house were permitted to buy it for redelivery at \$150 per share. The arrangement of course meant heavy loss in most cases to the shorts, but saved them from bankruptcy and practically ended the struggle.

Just where the control of the Northern Pacific now rests is still a matter of uncertainty, but it is believed to remain with the Hill-Morgan interests. Ordinarily, the offer of the Kuhn-Loeb interests to settle with the shorts would have meant either that the fight to get control of the Northern Pacific had been abandoned, or else that it had proved successful so that no further collecting of stocks due was necessary; but in this instance the possible deciding reason for the compromise offer was an injunction issued by Justice Gildersleeve of the supreme court, under which certain short sellers were relieved of the necessity of delivering the stock, on the ground that the bears knew when they bought it that the stock offered them was not in existence and could not be delivered. Similar injunctions would undoubtedly have been secured by all the hard-pressed shorts if the settlement offer had not been made.

The Public, the
Law, and
the Speculators

For the heavy losses incurred by the purely speculative interests involved in this conflict the general public need give itself no concern. No sympathy need be wasted here.

Indeed, it is hard to understand why the court should have interfered to protect any speculators from the natural consequences of their risk-taking. Had they won, it would have been at the expense of somebody else whom no court could have protected from the loss inflicted. It was purely a matter of assumption, not of known fact, to conclude that the buyers knew the stock could not be delivered. On the contrary, they were buying wherever stock was offered, and some of this stock was actually being delivered. How could they know, therefore, who would be able to deliver and who would not? But, even supposing that the buyers had known that the stock could not be delivered; the original responsibility for every such transaction is on the seller, not the buyer. If the seller, in the hope of profiting at somebody else's expense, offers stock that he does not own and does not know whether he will be able to deliver it, he ought to bear the full penalties of a possible failure in his scheme just as certainly as he would reap the harvest in case of success. There is enough of the principle of, "Heads I win, tails you lose," already exemplified on the stock exchange without the court coming in to give it the sanction of law.

There are only two rational ways of dealing with gambling, of whatever variety. One is to leave both parties to the game free-handed, and protect neither one from the possible rebound of his effort to injure his opponent; the other is to abolish it entirely, or at least strip it of its dangerous and havoc-creating possibilities. If the latter, the restrictions must apply equally and evenly to all. The injunction granted by Justice Gildersleeve was doubtless intended to prevent bankruptcies and severe panic, but the really effective and best method of dealing with this whole situation, either by Wall street itself or by the public, is to restrict and define the limits of stock-exchange transactions in such

a way that only legitimate and *bona fide* transfers of interests can be made, and panics and depressions cannot be forced on the country by the mere scramble of speculators to profit at each other's expense by dealing in imaginary rather than actual securities. Here is a field for government interference, in the interests of financial and industrial stability, and it ought from now on to receive the most careful study, looking towards possible legislation in case the exchange will not correct the evils itself. The guiding principle in any such legislation, however, should be clear and unmistakable. It should have no other object than simply to protect the interests of the great industrious, wealth-producing, non-speculating millions from disruption at the hands of the purely gambling elements in stock-exchange transactions. The state should never interfere merely to save these manipulators from themselves.

**The Machinists'
Struggle for
Nine Hours**

Like the stock-exchange panic, the widespread prevalence of strikes at this season is no indication of unstable or unhealthy business conditions. On the contrary, it reflects the determination of organized labor to share the tangible results of the extraordinary prosperity existing in nearly all lines of industry throughout the country. In times of depression, strikes are mainly defensive, directed chiefly against reductions of wages, but in times of prosperity they are aggressive, designed to secure increases of wages or reduction of working hours or some improvement in working conditions. The prosperity strikes are the more numerous and vigorous and much more largely crowned with success.

One of these is now in progress. On May 20th about fifty thousand skilled machinists, employed in the metal trades throughout the country, began a long-

anticipated strike which thus far seems likely to be successful. The movement is very widespread and apparently well organized, the most important of the many points affected being San Francisco, Cincinnati, New York city, Scranton, Boston, Buffalo, and the state of New Jersey. The basis of the strike is stated by President James O'Connell, of the National Association of Machinists, as follows:

"We are demanding a nine-hour day universally throughout the trade, with an increase of wages sufficient to overcome the loss of the hour in time; regulation of the apprenticeship system and the number that shall be employed in accordance with the number of journeymen machinists employed; agreements as to arbitration of all disputes that may arise in the future; the right of the machinists to be represented by a committee, and agreements that there shall be absolutely no discrimination against machinists because of their membership in the union."

An interesting feature of the strike is that in some places the non-union workers have joined the union men in the general demand for a nine-hour day. A considerable number of firms, especially in Chicago and New York, have already granted the demands and the men have returned to work.

**The Issues
at Stake**

It will be a difficult matter for the employers to resist this movement, since the men are all skilled workers and not replaceable at will by simply drawing on the general body of immigrants and miscellaneous unemployed. Moreover, there is nothing unreasonable in the demands for a nine-hour day, increase of wages, and right of the men to be represented by committees and guaranteed against any discrimination due to membership in a union. These are proper demands, and it is only by thus pushing forward the standard of wages and hours, in times when the conditions of industry make these concessions possible, that labor can permanently advance and obtain

its share in the increasing wealth-production of the community.

It is possible, of course, that the resistance of the employers does not really rest upon these particular demands, but hinges on certain points of shop management involved in the somewhat vague demand for "regulation of the apprenticeship system," etc. Trade unions frequently make the mistake of trying to "run the shop" of the employer, by dictating conditions which seriously affect the economic efficiency of the business in matters not involving wages or hours. If industry is to prosper, and the wealth production from which wages as well as profits are paid is to increase, expert management must be free to bring the best results out of the organization, division of labor, and use of machine methods in the shops and factories. It may be, of course, that no really serious issue of this sort is at stake, and that the demand in regard to apprentices grows out of some actual abuse, which the men have found by experience to be a subtle means of introducing a considerable cheap-labor element. If so, the matter would be a proper subject for trade-union protest and quite within the proper limits of organized labor's economic function, which is to protect the wages, hours and general working conditions of the wage-earning class. To the extent that the machinists keep within these limits, the men are entitled to win.

It should be remembered in this connection, however, that the machinists have for some time had a strong arbitration agreement with the metal trades association, under which no strike could be ordered until after a series of conferences in which both parties were equally represented. It would be interesting to know whether this agreement was lived up to in the present case. If it was, and a strike came nevertheless, it seems clear that there must be other issues at stake quite as

serious as the demand for nine hours work at ten hours pay. With the present flood of prosperity, it is unlikely that the employers in the metal trades would incur a costly strike simply to resist reasonable demands along these lines. Perhaps, on the contrary, this phase of the struggle could have been settled if the employers had felt that they could be secured against annoying encroachments upon departments of their business which must, of economic necessity, lie within the employers' rather than the employees' domain.

**The Albany
Street Railway
Strike**

The riotous and deplorable labor contest in Albany (extending to Troy), from May 7th to 18th, was of quite different character from the machinists' strike. It seems to have originated in two distinct demands on the part of the union—one, that all nightmen and pitmen employed by the United Traction Company should receive twenty cents per hour, the same as the regular day rate for conductors and motormen, and the other that employees not members of the labor union be discharged from the company's service and that any employees who might be expelled from the union at any time should also be discharged by the company.

The first demand was reasonable and had the sympathy of the people of Albany. The second was utterly indefensible and could not, as it did not deserve to, attract any public sympathy whatever. The same effort has been made before by ill-advised labor unions here and there, but never we believe with success. It is so obviously contrary to ordinary justice that it has been doomed to failure in advance, wherever undertaken. A labor union has a perfect right to persuade non-union workers to join the ranks of the organized, if it can, but it has no right whatever, moral, economic or legal, to

persecute such men or force their discharge if they do not choose to become union members.

Bad as this was, the case of the Albany strikers was made many times worse by the mob violence which began as soon as the company tried to operate its lines with non-union men. It may be that the union leaders did not encourage violence, and possibly but few union men actually took part in it; but it is almost incredible that rioting of such violence and persistence could have been wholly the work of disinterested outsiders having no grievance to warrant the risks they took. The citizens of Albany may have sympathized with the strikers, and the rough element may have welcomed the chance to make trouble on any pretext, but neither cause is sufficient to explain the extraordinary proportions and bitterness of the Albany disturbance. The union, in order to escape any share of responsibility for this, ought to have publicly declared against it at the outset and promptly disciplined any of its members found participating in any way in the riots or encouraging others to use violent methods.

**The Rioting
and the Outcome** By May 14th the disturbances became so serious that the sheriff of Albany county had to call for state troops to maintain order. The 10th battalion and 3rd signal corps of Albany and the 23rd regiment from Brooklyn were promptly called out. The riot reached its height on May 16th when, in the midst of a fierce attack, the troops fired into the crowd, wounding a laborer and killing two well-known business men of Albany, none of the three having been in any way connected with the strike. More troops were at once sent to the scene, the 2nd regiment from Troy and vicinity and the 9th from New York city, making so large a body of military that the rioters were finally overawed and no further

casualties occurred. On the night of May 17th the company and the union finally reached an agreement and the strike was declared off.

As usual the outcome was a compromise. The company granted the wage and several minor demands and agreed to "continue to recognize and treat with any committee of its employees, representing organized or unorganized labor, when they desired to be heard in relation to any grievance." On the other hand, the strikers surrendered the demand for exclusive employment of union men and agreed that in the future "no proposition for a strike shall be acted upon by any division at the same meeting at which it is introduced, but that at least forty-eight hours shall elapse before such a proposition shall be voted upon. And if a strike shall be ordered it shall not take effect until at least six days have elapsed after notice to the company, during which time the employees shall continue their work." Most of the non-union workers who had been brought to Albany have left town and the former employees have been reinstated, except such as are under arrest charged with acts of violence. These men, unless proved innocent, will not be taken back.

The whole conflict was most deplorable, and might have been entirely avoided by a broader spirit of conciliation on the part of the company and a larger measure of economic wisdom on the part of the union. The company could just as well have granted the wage equalization at the outset and saved itself the expense of the strike, and the men might just as well have confined themselves to the legitimate wage demand and not forced the indefensible issue of the right to deprive non-union men of their jobs. Every such needless, costly and tragic conflict only re-emphasizes the urgent importance of greater economic enlightenment, and thus, of course, of more widespread popular education

among all classes of the community on the true economic, social and ethical relations between employers and wage earners.

**New York's Ap-
proaching Municip-
al Campaign**

New York city is on the eve of its second great contest for control of the municipal government, since the organization of the greater city under the new charter. The result is perhaps even more important than in the first election, since experience has now shown the places where thieves can plunder to the best advantage, on the one hand, and where honest progressive men can do the most for decent government and wholesome expansion of the best there is in civic life, on the other. Furthermore, the city charter has just been amended in several important particulars, making a much more satisfactory administration of the city's affairs possible, if the control shall be vested in honest and capable hands.

The anti-Tammany elements, for this time at least, are not going to base their campaign on any special report of any particular investigating committee. They will take the broader, more dignified and effective position that Tammany's rottenness is so flagrant and fully-established that every intelligent citizen ought to understand and acknowledge it without having to be offered any elaborate proof. In other words, it is not a case for argument but is simply an established fact, and the only real question at stake is how best to inspire those who want good government with the necessity of really working for it. This seems to be the spirit thus far, and if it lasts it will probably result in a non-partisan anti-Tammany union, more formidable than anything that has been accomplished since the memorable campaign which elected Mayor Strong in 1894.

Of course, the two organizations whose cooperation is absolutely indispensable if Tammany is to be defeated are the republican party and the citizens' union. A third significant factor is the recently organized "Greater New York Democracy," led by a group of independent democrats of high standing and supported by some others of less creditable reputation, whose chief title to fame is that, having once been in the Tammany councils, they are now, for whatever reason, there no longer.

All three of these organizations have declared themselves frankly on the policy of the campaign. On February 21st the republican county committee adopted resolutions including the following:

"Resolved, That in view of the present conditions this committee is in favor of an administration of the city's affairs which shall be broadly non-partisan and observant in all its economics of the ordinary rules of an honest and well-conducted business, the end to be sought in all municipal matters being simply the welfare of the city and in nowise the advantage of any political organization.

"Resolved, Also, that in the belief and judgment of this committee the republicans of New York stand ready to cooperate as an organization with all other organizations and associations, social or political, and with all persons, without regard to party affiliations, in laboring for the election of a municipal ticket selected without regard to partisanship, and commanding public confidence that in the event of its success the principles above stated will assuredly control."

The citizens' union on April 26th adopted a platform, summarizing the charges against Tammany and the specific demands of the union for clean and progressive city government. No definite offer of cooperation with other organizations was made, but the spirit of the union as expressed by its leading men promises to be very different this year from the unfortunate exclusive position it took in 1897.

The Greater New York democracy, through its executive committee, has also adopted a platform, declaring its purpose to be:

"To assist in the formation of a solid and harmonious union of all parties, organizations and associations opposed to boss rule and bad government."

It is most fortunate for the prospects of a clean-government victory that the spirit of cooperation and sinking of organization differences is abroad. No one body of men, working single-handed, could for a moment hope to win. The citizens' union is not popular enough, the Greater New York democracy is not even approachably large enough, and the republican organization does not possess popular confidence enough,—it has given too many instances of adeptness in Tammany methods whenever the appropriate opportunities are offered. However, if the republican organization can be harnessed in with the others, its strength can be thrown to the side of good government, where the great mass of the rank and file in the party earnestly want it to be, whatever the private preferences of the machine leaders. A victory won by such a combination could not be diverted to partisan advantage; there would be too many groups and interests "on the inside," and decency, if not actually in the majority, would at least hold the balance of power.

**The New
Attorney-General**

The appointment of Philander C. Knox of Pittsburg to be attorney-general of the United States, succeeding John W. Griggs of New Jersey, is severely criticised in many quarters because Mr. Knox has at various times done important legal work for large corporations. It is admitted that the new attorney-general is a man of marked ability and personal integrity, but it is assumed nevertheless that he cannot be impartial in the discharge of his duties whenever the interests of the public may come in conflict with those of corporations.

Whether Mr. Knox will actually make a just and impartial attorney-general can be determined only by

experience, but there is nothing in the mere fact that he has done legal work for corporations to justify suspicion either of his personal motives or his faithfulness to public interests in his new office. If this test were to be applied to all prospective appointees to the attorney-generalship, it would be nearly impossible to find any lawyer of conspicuous and trained ability in the country to fill the position. Under modern conditions of industry, the bulk of the important business of the country is either in direct connection with or closely related to stock corporations, and the lawyers of sufficient ability to command a large practice must of necessity have more or less to do with corporation litigation.

Naturally, the corporations seek for able legal talent, and a lawyer is no more to be criticised for serving these clients than a doctor is blamed for prescribing for a millionaire. To say that an honest lawyer must always be on the side against the corporations is another way of saying that a corporation is of necessity always in the wrong, should have no rights, no power of legal defence and no claim to the ordinary protection of the law. This sort of idiocy may be popular with campaign audiences, but it amounts to characterizing the majority of American business men as industrial pirates or brigands.

The fact that Mr. Knox has appeared in defence of corporations argues nothing either for or against his capacity for impartial discharge of a public trust. Indeed, if he is a man of integrity, and sensitiveness to public opinion, it may be that he will feel an even keener obligation to give his very best talent to the government in cases where corporations are involved, from the very fact of the suspicion directed towards him. At any rate, the ordinary American sense of justice ought to secure him at least what is freely accorded to a common malefactor before judge and jury—the right to be held innocent until proved guilty.

THE WARS OF WALL STREET

The alarming panic which occurred in Wall street on Thursday, May 9th, was another of those business-disturbing affairs which do so much to feed the prejudice and gradually undermine the confidence of the popular mind in existing industrial and financial institutions. Wall street has long been the target for popular prejudice, suspicion and distrust. It is commonly believed to be the center of dishonest and sometimes wicked conspiracy against the public weal. There are millions of people to-day who believe that the chief business of Wall street is to create corners, make panics, destroy values, and make a few people rich by wrecking large numbers of honest business men. Such disastrous eruptions as occurred in Wall street on Black Friday (Sept. 18th, 1873) and Black Thursday (May 9th, 1901) are well calculated to sustain this all too-prevalent belief.

Of course the people are not philosophers. The masses do not think deeply on these questions, but they feel keenly and follow leaders. These leaders are not, as is too commonly assumed, dishonest; they are usually superficial and ill-informed enough honestly to believe that they are called to save society. Mr. Bryan, for instance, appears to be honestly laboring under the delusion that he is a second Thomas Jefferson. This movement, in its multifarious forms from socialism to anarchy, with all the intervening degrees of disintegration, has one belief in common: namely, that the present accumulation of wealth by capitalistic methods is an unjust exploitation of the masses for the benefit of a comparatively small privileged class. There is a variety of reasoning, logical and illogical, on this general proposition and how to deal with it, but the general assump-

tion is that the rich are consciously or unconsciously the robbers of the poor, and that the great wealth of the millionaires and large corporations to-day is the result of unjust monopoly of the opportunities and instruments of civilization. Under a community like ours, prejudice and uninformed feeling are very effective in making votes and shaping public policy. If the revolution hoped for by the socialists or the disruption worked for by Bryan are to be avoided, and orderly progress is to continue, the great leaders of finance and industry will have to be more and more careful of the interests of the public. Opportunity and power carry with them responsibility. Large capitalists and financiers are practically quasi-public servants. They control so much, their interests are so far-reaching and involved, that their every scheme affects thousands of others who are not consulted and are helpless to act; their interests carry with them the interests of the whole community. This is one of the consequences of scientific development and economic organization and social progress.

All this is true, but it is equally a part of the nature of things that this centralizing direction and power carries with it a commensurate increasing responsibility,—not merely responsibility to oneself for his own fortune, not merely responsibility to one's family for its future, but responsibility to the community for the direction of these great affairs on which the welfare of the nation itself depends.

The two kinds of calamity which contain the most dangerous elements of national disaster are industrial depressions and financial panics. Nothing quite so securely protects our institutions from attack as financial stability and industrial prosperity. Industrial prosperity secures an increase in wealth and production which carries with it as a part of the very process of its

creation an increased diffusion of welfare throughout the community, so that in any considerable period of continuous prosperity every class in the community shares in some degree in the increased production. Moreover, every decade or even half decade of increased welfare results in a higher standard of social life and general intelligence and consequently a more competent public opinion, which necessarily results in more equitable adjustment of economic and social relations, which is a net advance in civilization.

So long as these conditions continue, the crusade against society is comparatively harmless. But when the industrial conditions are disturbed and business depression brings reduction in wages and enforced idleness, with their train of hardships among the masses, not merely the laborers who are at the point of maximum suffering, but the sympathizing public, have a ready ear for any explanation which shall make somebody directly responsible for this state of affairs. They readily turn to those who have the wealth and who have had the direction and control of industrial affairs, as the cause of the calamity. Under these conditions, it is not difficult to influence the masses to follow the most plausible even though most flippant leader who proposes a caustic remedy for the evil, especially if the remedy shall look toward the dispossession of those in authority, whether in industry or politics.

Nothing but prosperity prevented the election of Mr. Bryan and his followers in 1900. The appeal to the prejudice of the masses against corporations and millionaire capitalists was not without effect. It was seldom resented; in fact, it found very general lodgment in the popular mind. Indeed, Mr. Bryan's onslaught upon corporations and the money power was the most popular thing in all the campaign. He was temporarily, at least, in every locality the lion of the pop-

ulace, but when they came to vote they had to choose between plausible sentiment and practical welfare, and the welfare won.

During the last four years, and particularly the last two, this unparalleled prosperity, which has really prevented a disintegrating revulsion of policy, has brought startling changes in the methods and policy of industrial organization and management. The concentration of productive control has been breath-taking. More than a billion and a half dollars' worth of property has been concentrated into a single concern and is practically directed by less than half a dozen persons. As already pointed out,* this may be and probably is another step towards greater production at less cost and consequently, in the long run, higher wages and cheaper products to the public as well as greater profits to the capitalists.

As a part of this movement, we have the high-wrought conditions of Wall street. Of course, Wall street, like large corporations, is not an unmitigated evil, as some imagine. It is not an organized conspiracy against honest investors any more than corporations are huge robbers. Wall street is the great distributing agent of investment and is as essential to the mobility of capital as a distributing market for products is to industry. This is true in a country like this, where industry is mostly conducted by corporations, which represent the collective investments of small amounts owned by thousands of people.

One of the conspicuous elements in the marvellous industrial progress this country has achieved is due to this corporate form of industrial organization. If our industries had been compelled to depend upon individual ownership or the partnership form of enterprise, as is the case in many of the older countries of Europe,

* GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, May, 1901, pp. 423-424.

only a fraction of the development would have been possible. It would have been prevented by the sheer lack of capital. Our progressive possibilities were so great that we needed capital many times faster than it could be created out of the previous investments. The corporation made it possible to collect the small savings as well as the large, of the people all over the country, in amounts from five and ten to a hundred dollars and upwards, and capitalize it into productive industry under corporate management. Moreover, it enabled American enterprise to have the advantage of millions upon millions of foreign capital. For a long time the greater part of the railroads, the city improvements and large industrial enterprises of this country, were conducted by foreign capital, added to the small investments of millions of Americans. This made the capital fund and productive capacity of the country grow many times faster than it otherwise could possibly have done, and also involved the method of investment by purchase of stocks, for which Wall street furnishes a central market where anybody who has a small amount can invest in any properties in the country, and if they want to convert their little holdings into cash for present use they can always do so as quickly as they could draw it from a bank. The machinery for accomplishing this is the broker. Through the active operation of the economic forces that converge in Wall street, the value of stocks, their dividend-earning capacity and their probable future, are constantly indicated and registered. Thus Wall street and the brokers do for investors what large corporations do for production and mercantile houses do for the retail distribution of commodities.

But there are uneconomic as well as economic methods of doing business in Wall street, just as there are in the organization and conduct of corporations and

in any other form of business. Large corporations, by using unfair pressure and dishonorable means of competition, can unjustly injure and drive out competitors. For instance, they can and sometimes do send their goods into a special locality and sell them considerably below cost in order to kill off a competitor. Of course they do not intend to keep the price at that low point, but, as soon as the competitor is driven out, the price is put back and perhaps raised to a higher point than before. That is dishonorable business, it is detrimental to public welfare and as far as possible should be suppressed.

In Wall street there are methods of a similar character by which the price of stocks is forced up and down without any regard to the earning capacity of the property they represent. This is brought about by what is known as "bulls" and "bears." A war between these two factions frequently brings disturbance of prices, which creates panic and is disastrous to business. These havoc-creating panics must be avoided. If they are not dealt with on rational conservative lines by the capitalists, through stock-exchange regulations and other business rules, they will be dealt with by the revolutionary method. As James J. Hill said the morning after the panic, the people will find some way to prevent rich men from using their wealth to create such havoc with the lives and interests of the millions of people who are honestly going about their business.

On the other hand, it may be said that people have the same right to buy and sell stocks that they have to buy and sell potatoes, and there is no more reason why law should prevent a man from giving more for stocks than they are worth than there is for paying more for potatoes than they are worth. All this is true, but as a matter of fact panics are not created by legitimate buying and selling of stocks. It is when transactions take

on the gambling phase and people buy what they do not want and sell what they do not possess that the danger begins.

It may be urged that a man may take whatever risks he pleases in buying and selling. If he makes a mistake he suffers the loss, and *vice versa*, but this is not entirely true. He may have the legal right to do it because no attempts have been made to prevent it, but, in the larger sense of the public interest, which is the basis for limiting and regulating all individual conduct, he has not the right to do what tends to injure other people who take no part in and are in no way responsible for the action. A man will not be permitted to create an explosion merely because he is willing to risk his own life. The public has rights as well as individuals.

To this Wall street is no exception. Of course there can be no restriction on a citizen's right to buy and sell as much stock as he can pay for. That would be an interference with personal freedom which would destroy the right of private investment and be fatal to corporate industry. Moreover, if certain individuals, or a group of them, would like to control the management of a large corporation in which they have heavily invested, their only way is to buy a majority of the stock, and Wall street is the place to do it. In order to secure the stock, they will have to bid enough to induce the present holders to sell. It is equally clear that if another group of persons have present control and would like to keep it, they can accomplish their end only by preventing such sales or increasing their own holdings. A contest between two such groups is sure to put stock at an abnormally high price. In the end, those who give the highest price would get the property, just as they would in buying a piece of real estate at auction. There is a limit to which the price will go

under a contest thus conducted. The limit will be determined by the earning capacity of the property. No capitalist or group of capitalists will try to control a property by giving very much more for it than it is ever likely to be worth, because they would be investing their wealth in unprofitable assets, which capitalists seldom do.

Now this is substantially what took place in Wall street on the 9th of May. For valid business reasons, the owners of two great systems of railroads wanted to strengthen, or at least maintain, the earning capacity of the property. The Northern Pacific people thought the ownership of either the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul or the Burlington and Quincy would strengthen their system, and accordingly they went into Wall street, quietly, of course, to buy control of the St. Paul. This failed, and they proceeded to buy the Burlington and Quincy and secured control before their great competitor, the Union Pacific, discovered what was going on. Thus far nothing illegitimate had taken place. When the Union Pacific people learned of this they scented danger. They interpreted the movement as an intent to injure the opportunities of the Union Pacific. Now, one of two things seemed to them necessary in self-defence; either that an amicable arrangement regarding these properties be entered into, or that they must fight for the control themselves. The first failed and the war began. The two great interests entered into a war in Wall street for control, the Union Pacific struggling to get control of the Northern Pacific and the Northern Pacific to keep control of the advantage it had acquired.

All this was entirely proper in the interest of wise administration of great properties. If the struggle for control had been limited to real purchases for investment, no panic or calamity would have occurred. If

the Union Pacific people had simply bought all the Northern Pacific stock they could, and kept it, and kept on buying until the price rose to the point where it would not pay even with control, the buying would have stopped. The point would soon have been reached when neither side would care to buy, and that would have decided who had the most faith in the possibilities of the property. This would undoubtedly have led to some little disturbance in the prices of stocks, because purchasers on both sides would have sold other securities in order to purchase stocks in one or the other of these concerns, but in all probability nothing approaching a panic would have occurred. But this is not what took place. As soon as the buying began to be perceptible, another element entered; people began to buy what they did not want and sell what they did not have. They "bought long" by putting up small ten per cent. margins, and so bought ten times as much stock as they could pay for, solely in the belief that the price would continue to rise and that they could sell it again at a higher price.

Under this bull pressure more stock was bought than existed. Indeed, there was no intention of having the stock, but purely gambling that it would go higher and they could sell again. This created a fever, not of buying stock, but of gambling on the rise in stock. If people had bought only what they could have paid for, only a fraction of this could have taken place. This fever, which had no relation whatever to economic buying and selling for investment, carried people to the point of insanity, where no judgment whatever prevailed, any more than is involved in betting a fortune upon drawing the longest straw from a bundle.

When the price reached a sufficient height, this movement was responded to by the bears selling "short;" that is, selling what they did not have. When

a stock is only worth about \$65 and will sell at \$600 or \$1,000, it is clear that it is not bought for investment and therefore is sure to fall, and, when people begin to sell in large quantities at a lower price than that at which the last was offered, everybody wants to unload for fear of loss. Under this pressure, the "shorts" are willing to take the risk of buying a little later at a less price than they sell at now, and so offer to sell what they do not possess, feeling sure that they can get it a little later at a lower price and have the difference as profit, and so many times more shares are sold than there are in existence. When this takes place, all those who have bought on margins as a gamble lose their deposits. If the margin is ten per cent. and the price drops, that is wiped out and a new margin is required or they lose all, and so on; whereas, if they had bought honestly only what they could pay for, and on the judgment of good investment, they could have kept their stock and not lost anything. But, having spread their purchase over ten or fifteen times as much stock as they can pay for, when the price falls they are unable to sustain their margins and are wiped out. Under this pressure another phase of disturbance begins.

In order to maintain their margins by putting up more money to protect what they have already placed on the gamble, they sell their *bona fide* properties, pay a high interest for the loan of securities, and so begin to lower the price of other securities which are not otherwise involved. This makes a disturbance throughout the whole field of investment.

Then another fact is likely to enter: namely, that some one party will actually get a "corner" on the stock which is the subject of the war. In that case, when the shorts are selling what they have not got, those who hold the corner can buy with impunity no matter what the price may be, because they are certain that the

others cannot deliver without coming to them for their stock. It was under this pressure that the Northern Pacific went up to \$1,000 when it was not worth \$70. When this fact becomes known, the break comes and those who have been selling short are called upon to buy the stock and deliver it. It cannot be obtained except from those who have bought it, and the price is put up by them to the ruining point, and failure and bankruptcy begin.

This is just what occurred on Black Friday, 1873, and also on May 9th, 1901. It was because Jay Gould and his friends had a corner on gold on Black Friday, '73, that when the shorts came to settle it broke the firm of Jay Cooke & Co., and the next day forced nineteen banking houses into bankruptcy. It was because the Northern Pacific stock was finally cornered that it rose to \$1,000 a share, and those who had sold short stood to settle at ruinous rates; and in the fall which necessarily followed all margins were wiped out. Both the longs and shorts were caught in the wreck. It is true that by prompt action of a number of banks, and a mutual agreement, the shorts were allowed to settle on what were called reasonable terms, by paying about twice what the stock was worth. But if this had occurred under a state of depressed business it would probably have carried with it several brokerage houses and banks, and they in turn would have forced a large number of business houses to fail.

None of the disastrous effect of this struggle would have occurred if nobody had bought more than he could pay for and nobody had sold what he did not possess. It is this speculation, gambling, and in many instances dishonest transaction that is the cause of the disturbance and panic. If this element were removed from Wall street there would be no more danger of panics and business disturbance from the buying and

selling of stocks than there is in dealing in any other commodities. Occasionally the same methods have been applied to wheat and certain other products, and usually with the same business-disturbing effect. When the corner in copper broke, it nearly took the Bank of France and some of the greatest millionaires in the world with it. When the recent wheat corner was broken, it took Leiter and many others with it, and all because they had bought what they did not want and could not pay for, or had sold what they did not possess.

There was considerable truth in Mr. Hill's indignant declaration the morning after Black Thursday, that somebody would have to settle with their consciences for this panic, that the law ought to step in and prevent millionaires from using their millions with such disastrous effect to public interests. Whether this was honest indignation or mere bluff to cover a part Mr. Hill himself had played is not entirely clear, but it expressed a sound sentiment nevertheless. If the evil of this gambling is not dealt with by the governors of the stock exchange, or the adoption of higher methods by the responsible leaders in Wall street, it will some day be dealt with in a less intelligent but more caustic way by the public. Borrowing and lending are legitimate business transactions. Buying and selling are essential to the distribution of wealth in the community, but buying what one can never pay for and selling what one does not own are not legitimate industrial transactions. They are dangerous gambling, and, what is more, they are gambling in a way and with interests that involve the public. When a man bets on a race horse and loses, somebody else has his money and that is the end of it. He cannot bet again until he gets more money. That is not the case with this gambling element in the stock market. The risk is not limited

to the amount involved by the individual speculator, but it affects the value and status and perhaps solvency of hundreds of thousands of others who have no part in the gambling transaction. The wiping out of margins by the bears selling short brings with it the forced sale of other stocks at a sacrifice and lowers the value of everybody's holdings for the time being, and if for any reason they are compelled to sell they have to do so at a loss.

Wall street is a legitimate business market so long as its methods are confined to the practice of buying what can be paid for and selling what is possessed. It is not merely a legitimate institution but is indispensable to modern business. But, to the extent that it endorses and encourages the practice of partial buying and fictitious selling, it is the breeding place of panics and industrial disturbance. This uneconomic and dishonest element in the practice of Wall street will sooner or later have to be dealt with. The question is, shall the remedy come in a sane and conservative way through the stock exchange and the great leaders of industry and finance, and thus strengthen Wall street as a center of money, business and banking, or shall it come at the behest of an excited indignant public through the methods of caustic and perhaps revolutionary legislation?

TRADE ROUTES AND CIVILIZATION

JACQUES W. REDWAY, F. R. G. S.

Trade routes have always been the most sensitive factors in history. Water flowing to the sea does not pick out its channels with greater exactitude, and the pulse does not respond more quickly to the throbs of the heart than do routes of traffic to the slightest disturbance along their course. Almost always trade flows along lines of least resistance; its one obstacle is the force of gravity, and the movements of commerce have become so highly organized that the science of transportation is practically reduced to a compromise between the expenditure of time and the lift against gravity.

The history of Aryan civilization is inseparably wrapped up in commerce and trade routes, and, whatever may have been the prime impulses or the genesis of civilization, commerce moving along its self-chosen lines of least resistance—that is, along natural trade routes—has been the chief factor in its diffusion. In almost his first journey into the heart of Africa Mr. Livingston recognized that if civilization were to penetrate the continent it must be the work, not of the missionary, but of commerce flowing along trade routes. All Europe had learned this lesson, and the latter had about six centuries of illustration; moreover it required that the lesson scarcely more than half learned should be reviewed under the most practical of all masters—bitter experience.

From very early historic times there had been more or less commercial intercourse between Mediterranean ports and the far East—the cities of India, and a few of those of China. The merchants of Tyre sent

their ships back and forth over the Red sea, and, after the conquest of Alexander, over the old Phœnician route through Persia to various points still farther east. A still more important route lay by the way of the Caspian sea along an arm (or perhaps the main *thalweg*) of the Amu Daria*, thence by caravan to the Indus, and thence to the marts of India. Another important route was through Syria by caravan to the Euphrates, and thence down the river through the Persian gulf. This route was the making of Palmyra and the direct cause of its greatness. All these routes, it will be observed, centered at the eastern ports of the Mediterranean sea, and for a long time there were practically two sets of carriers; especially was this the case before the rise of the Saracenic empire, the two meeting at the eastern ports of the Mediterranean. The growth of the Saracenic power advanced until it included Spain and the whole northern coast of Africa. Trade was prosecuted briskly, but the Asian part was nearly all in the hands of the Mussulmans. Only one port was open to Christian merchants; Persian and Armenian merchants sent their goods to Batum and thence to Constantinople; silks and oriental goods were carried by the Oxus route to the Caspian and thence overland to Constantinople. As a result of this trade Constantinople grew from a barbaric military camp to be the richest city and the seat of the highest civilization in the world.

With the inspiration of the crusades the commerce grew amazingly. Venice and Genoa came into importance. The former, by a piece of unparalleled treachery, wrought the downfall of Constantinople in order to grasp her trade, and then engaged in a fierce struggle

* This river, better known by its former name, Oxus, now flows directly into Aral sea. The old channel to the Caspian sea is plainly traceable.

with the latter in order to hold it. Genoa obtained full possession of the northern, Venice of the Red sea route; each, however, wanted both. Nevertheless, the trade grew to mammoth proportions. And then came the end. The handwriting on the wall was only too plain; but there are none so blind as those who will not see. The Turk had been converted to Islam; and in his zeal for his newly adopted religion he decided that he could strike no severer blow to Christendom than to arrest its trade. So the trade routes to Asia were hermetically sealed. As Mr. Fiske puts it:—The most magnificent commerce the world had ever seen was cut with the shears of Atropos.

But why, one may ask, did not the commercial powers of Europe divert their trade along other routes? An answer to this question is very easy: there were none. There is a very definite boundary between the Europe of history and the Asia of history. Not the boundaries shown on the maps, however; they are merely fiat lines that separate Russian from Siberian provinces on the east, and from Caucasian provinces on the south; the real boundary is a great desert highland rising from the Persian gulf, culminating in the stupendous Hindu Kush, and gradually disappearing in the steppes and tundras of the Arctic shores. In but three or four places is that massive highland desert traversed by defiles that permit commercial intercourse. All the trade that had so tremendously stirred Europe and Cathay had either crept close along the immediate coast or else had threaded one or more of these narrow passes.

One of these passages has found a place in the literature of almost every nation under the sun, and the echoes of its history have reached every quarter of the civilized world—Khaibar pass. It is scarcely thirty-five miles from Peshawur to Jellalabad, and the pass

itself is hardly wider than a cart path. Yet for more ten centuries it has been an artery through which oriental and occidental civilization passed, repassed, and mingled—a steady, never-ending stream. The commercial energies of two continents for a long time were concentrated in this one artery. When Great Britain, reaching out for colonial markets, acquired India, Sir Robert Peel recognized the importance of this trade route; impregnable elsewhere, the life could be strangled out of her at Khaibar pass. Lord Clive never addressed the home government without urging it to fortify the pass. General Elphinstone knew its value when he placed the army there, which was to perish so miserably on that bloody Sunday. Dost Muhammad knew its tremendous importance, and he spoke with the wisdom of inspiration when he repeated the old tradition, “Whoso would be master of India must first make himself lord of Kabul;” and the history of Khaibar pass, written in the blood of centuries, has echoed the words of the tradition.

The blocking of the trade routes between Europe and Cathay set in motion a train of events that even to this day are in swift action. The growth and expansion of this mighty commerce had developed a tremendous energy. Now, energy, like matter, cannot be annihilated. Like the subtle force that appears as heat, light, electricity, magnetism, or motion, there may be transformation, a change of form; but neither final gain nor loss. So it was with the energy of thought that had concentrated upon commerce; it was not destroyed by the blocking of the trade routes, but merely transformed—transformed into the energy of search for an all-water route to India. Turkish corsairs might sweep the Mediterranean but they could not blockade the whole ocean.

And great things were to grow out of the transformed

energy, for the latter was to develop to an extent the like of which the world had never dreamed. In the search for India and a safe route thereto, Dias crept southward along the coast of Africa until he reached the "Cape of the Furies," and a year or two later Vasco da Gama rounded the cape—no longer the abode of the Furies, but the Cape of Good Hope—and, when his anchors were let go, his ship was at the port of Callicut, in India. The problem seemed to be solved.

With the new route open, great events began to cast their shadows. Venice and Genoa could not readily adapt themselves to the new conditions; moreover, they were so hopelessly sodden in their own rottenness that gradually they fell to pieces. The Mediterranean sailors, likewise, were not the men for deep-sea sailing, and so little by little the thread was taken up by the descendants of the Norse,—pirates only a few generations back, it is true, but sailors for a hundred generations. And so step by step the new trade route led to the shores of the North sea. Then, too, the foundation stones of the feudal castle began to tremble, and as time passed on they crumbled beneath the shock. When the dust and smoke of battle had cleared away there was another transformation and the factory had grown up on the dead carcase of the feudal system. In a contest between brains and brute force the result is always the same.

Man proposes, but the hand of divinity shapes the destinies of man. In pushing the search towards the West, instead of the East, Columbus discovered a New World. One would better say, perhaps, that he *began* the discovery, for the latter was not completed till the voyage of Magellan had been finished. And so the blocking of the trade routes between Europe and Cathay brought about the industrial reformation of Europe, the downfall of feudalism, and the discovery of a New World.

The commercial intercourse of peoples is always restricted by natural geographic barriers. A sea or any large body of water is a barrier, but with the aid of ships and steam and wind it is one that may be very readily overcome. A desert is a barrier, and, no matter how even and level its surface, the lack of food and water make it impassable to all species except man. A high mountain range is a barrier, for, even though its surface may not be so rugged as to prevent locomotion, there still remains the pull or lift against gravity. The difficulty of overcoming the obstacle of gravity in the transportation of commercial products is illustrated by a case at our own doors. From New York to San Francisco by way of Cape Horn is 16,000 miles; across the continent it is scarcely 3,000 miles. Yet such a tremendous barrier is the thousand miles of Rocky Mountain ranges that freight can be shipped by the Horn for less than the lowest rate for which the trans-continental railways can carry it. The Greeks, moreover, could spread more easily along the Mediterranean shores than they could cross the Balkans.

Because the transportation of commerce implies a lift against gravity, it follows that commercial routes must follow lines that have the nearest approach to a level—that is, lines of least resistance. Thus the estimation of the effectiveness of the barrier is finally reduced to the basis of expense.

Now, land routes of transportation cannot be lines of dead level. Even in the prairies of the great central plain there are serious problems in overcoming grades. A long grade of sixty feet to the mile entails an enormous constant expense in the surmounting of it; a grade of three hundred feet to the mile is practically prohibitive to steam roads. Every foot therefore of the lift against gravity means the piling up of expense; and there are so many places where the maximum limit

of grade is exceeded that the routes available are few and far between. It is for that reason that everywhere, except in the most level of plains, the railway must seek the river valley and the pass, or else hug a shore line. These are the lines of least resistance, the routes of the minimum lift against gravity—and hence the traffic paths of commerce. Ancient trade routes were governed by this principle; the inland steam transportation of to-day is vastly more sensitive to its application. And so the selection of the nineteenth century traffic route requires the maximum of skill, and its equipment frequently involves enormous expense.

The effect of opening a trade route is strikingly illustrated in the case of the Erie canal. From the time of its settlement, western New York, with its rich food-producing lands, practically had been cut off from the markets of the East. At this time the railway scarcely had been dreamed of and the only possibility of traffic, except the freight wagon, was a canal. But the construction and operation of a canal involved topographic conditions hard to find, because the canal must cross the Appalachian mountains. Of the three or four possible routes only two were practicable. One of these lay through the Cumberland gap to the Ohio; the other by way of the Hudson estuary and the Mohawk gap to Lake Erie. Only the latter was of avail to New York. Construction operations were undertaken on both canals, but the former was never completed.

The completion of the Erie canal revolutionized the trade of the United States. Before its opening Philadelphia was the commercial metropolis of the country, and nearly all the foreign commerce, except that landing at Boston, passed over its docks. At that time, moreover, many if not most of the vessels discharging at the ports of the United States returned in ballast. With the completion of the canal there was an

open door between the East and the West and thereafter every vessel discharging at New York was certain of a return cargo. Under such circumstances is it strange that the foreign commerce should concentrate itself at the latter port? There was another item, too; wheat, which was a dollar and a half a bushel at New York, fetched just one-third of that sum at Buffalo; the difference in price represented the cost of transportation. With the completion of the canal the latter was reduced to forty cents* and the farmer got the other sixty. Is it surprising that with such tremendous gains New York should have become the Empire State? And yet it was all in the selection of the natural trade route—the line of least resistance—the minimum lift against gravity.

And even to this day the same trade route is making history as rapidly as it did in the early decades of the century. From Buffalo to New York city a magnificent railway system, with its six tracks, parallels the canal and the Hudson estuary. From Buffalo to tide-water the millions of tons of freight are lifted in the aggregate about five hundred feet; from Chicago along the shores of the two lakes it is not far from eleven hundred feet. In the case of the trans-Appalachian roads the aggregate of up-grades varies from three thousand to five thousand feet. This is the entire lift against gravity. And that lift means hundreds of extra locomotives and train crews. It means, moreover, that in the end the cost of transportation between the East and the West must be reckoned on the basis of the Mohawk gap route; and, whatever may be the economic history of the United States in the future, its development will be inseparably connected with this great line of least resistance.

* From Chicago to New York, by water, it is now about six cents.

HISTORIC CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF INTEREST

In the evolution of industry, interest has had a very eventful career. From the earliest times it has been under the ban alike of philosophers, theologians, moralists, humanitarians and statesmen. The hand of authority is still raised against it, as seen in the prevalence of anti-usury laws. Even in this country interest is still limited by law, while in no country in Christendom is there any restriction on rent or profits. The opposition to interest is both older and more intense than that to any other form of capitalistic distribution.

This is due chiefly to the peculiarity of its early social character. Although economic interest is essentially of the same nature as rent and profit, being a part of the surplus created by the use of capital, it differs from these in that it has a pre-capitalist as well as a capitalist history.

Interest has always been identified with borrowing but not with borrowing capital. It acquired its unsavory reputation long before it had any recognized association with capital, indeed before capital became a factor in general industry. While exacting interest for the loan of money was one of the earliest pre-capitalist devices, a credit system of industry and capitalistic production are comparatively recent developments.

In primitive times loans were made, not as now to increase the efficiency of production and so make the payment of interest beneficial to borrower as well as to lender, but money was borrowed chiefly for immediate domestic consumption and often under the pressure of dire distress. "Borrowers," says Professor Nicholson, "were not induced to borrow as a rule with the view of employing the capital so obtained at a greater profit,

but they were compelled of necessity to borrow as a last resort."

Since such loans yielded no increased income, nor any income at all in fact, the borrowers were necessarily impoverished to the full extent of the interest exacted. To borrow a loaf of bread, for example, and return a loaf and a quarter would necessarily impoverish the borrower to the extent of a quarter of a loaf, because the principal borrowed was used to satisfy hunger and not to aid in producing more bread. All money so borrowed to secure food in times of scarcity and famine increased by so much the poverty of the poor. Borrowing under such circumstances by the needy poor was practically pawning themselves to the prosperous rich for the necessities of life. It is not surprising, therefore, that under such conditions the spirit of justice and humanity should array itself vigorously against interest as an unjust exaction of the rich from the poor. That this was the case among the early Jews is clear from the terms of the Mosaic code forbidding usury:

"If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury."¹ Again: "If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him. . . . Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase."² "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother: usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury."³

The practice seems to have been too prevalent and too profitable for even Moses, backed by divine authority, to suppress it altogether, so by way of compromise he limited his prohibition to the Jews in their dealings with one another, but gave them express permission to continue exacting usury from strangers.⁴ Despite the

(¹) Exodus XXII., 25. (²) Leviticus XXV., 35, 37.

(³) Deuteronomy XXIII., 19. Cf. Psalms XV., 1-7. Nehemiah V., 2-5.

(⁴) "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury." Deuteronomy XXIII., 20.

injunction of Moses against usury it continued to be a lucrative means of exploiting the poor. And, under the prevalent custom of making bondage the penalty for debt,¹ usury became a direct cause of slavery.

A thousand years later we find the people complaining "against their brethren the Jews." Some said: "We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth." Others said: "We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards . . . and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought unto bondage already: neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and our vineyards."² The prevalence of this is also shown by Job's complaint about giving children in pledge,³ and by the widow's cry to Elisha that "the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen."⁴

Nor was this peculiar to the Jews; similar conditions prevailed throughout the ancient world. Under the Roman republic "the insolvent debtor was either put to death or sold in foreign slavery beyond the Tiber."⁵ So also in ancient Greece. We are told that the Athenian like the Roman debtor had often sunk under the legalized oppression of his creditor into an actual slave and had from time to time been sold and exported.

There is abundant evidence that this debtor-slave system with usury as its chief handmaid was a general feature of pre-capitalistic society. "At Athens," we are told, "up to the time of Solomon an insolvent

(¹) Leviticus XXV., 39-50. (²) Nehemiah V., 1, 3, 4, 5.

(³) Job XXIV., 9. (⁴) 2 Kings, IV., 1.

(⁵) Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Vol. IV., P. 373.

debtor became the slave of his creditor."¹ "Every debtor," says Grote,² "unable to fulfil his contract was liable to be adjudged as the slave of his creditor So severely had these oppressive contracts been enforced that many debtors had been reduced from freedom to slavery in Attica itself,—many others had been sold for exportation,—and some had only hitherto preserved their own freedom by selling their children." By this means the population of Attica, which is estimated to have approximated 240,000 souls, had 173,000 slaves, or about three out of every four.³ In ancient India the same general system prevailed. According to Buchanan,⁴ it was established both by law and custom that if a laborer was unable to pay his debts he or his wife and children became the property of the creditor. Turner found the same customs in Bengal.⁵

Little wonder, therefore, that hatred of usury and usurers should be among the earliest phases of social discontent. The protests, often reaching to conspiracy and revolt, with which the leaders of the Jews and the ancient kings had to deal, arose from the impoverishment and slavery resulting from converting debtors into slaves, which was commonly the result of borrowing for bread. It was to quell the revolution and utter disruption of Greece from this cause that led Solon to introduce his sweeping revolutionary reforms, chief among which was the abolition of debt and the slavery that had resulted therefrom. It was this which led Aristotle to condemn interest as unnatural and hateful on the theory that money does not breed money. To

(¹) *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XXII., p. 130.

(²) "History of Greece," Vol. I., p. 580.

(³) *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XXII., p. 130.

(⁴) "Journey through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar," Vol. II., pp. 320-562.

(⁵) "Embassy to the Court of Thibet," pp. 10-11. Cf. Ashley's "English Economic History," Vol. II., p. 398.

demand interest for money loaned to an unfortunate neighbor for "victuals" was detestably oppressive. Hence he says:¹

"Usury is most reasonably detested, as the increase of our fortune arises from the money itself, and not by employing it to the purpose for which it was intended. For it was devised for the sake of exchange, but usury multiplies it. And hence usury has received the name of *τόκος* or "produce," for whatever is produced is itself like its parents; and usury is merely money born of money: so that of all means of money-making this is the most contrary to nature."

The enmity to the Jew in Europe during the middle ages and in Russia to-day is due mainly to the same cause: namely, exacting interest for loans used for immediate personal purposes and not for productive investment. Clearly, every dollar of such interest impoverishes the borrower, and under the system of slavery for debt makes him the property of the lender. Every social instinct and ethical impulse naturally revolts against a system which converted what ought to have been a neighborly kindness into a means of oppression and slavery.

The censure of usury among the Jews by Moses and the prophets, its condemnation in Greece by the reforms of Solon and the philosophy of Aristotle, Roman legislation against it in the twelve tables and the Justinian code, and the crusade of canonists and schoolmen against it in the middle ages, were but the logical result of thirty centuries of experience. But it was experience under pre-capitalist conditions, where, as we have seen, usury meant the impoverishment and sometimes slavery of the borrower.

With the division of labor and development of capitalist production a new industrial era began, in which all this was radically changed. To be sure, borrowing continued but under different economic condi-

(¹) "Politics and Economics," Book I., Chapter X., Gillies' Translation, p. 25.

tions and from entirely different motives. The advent of capitalist production brought with it a new industrial class whose function was to furnish laborers with tools, pay them wages and assume all the responsibilities of the enterprise. As this system extended, employment became more regular and permanent and laborers lost both the motive and the means for extensive borrowing. In the first place, the greater regularity of income tended to make borrowing for mere domestic consumption less necessary, and, laborers having neither crops nor merchandise to pledge, the inducement to lend them money disappeared, and charity took its place, first by giving alms, encouraged by the Christian teaching, then enforced by the church, and finally, as now, provided by the state. Moreover, since capitalists who alone could give security would borrow only for productive purposes, they, of course, would continue to borrow only so long as the increased product equalled the interest paid for the loan,—no other motive would induce the borrowing. In this way, by the mere force of industrial differentiation and development, borrowing was changed from an uneconomic to an economic basis, and interest became a means of increasing production instead of a device for increasing poverty. In other words, through the industrial transition of society by the advent of a distinctive capitalist industrial class, interest changed from an immoral extortion to a moral distribution of wealth.

This transition, however, was slow and long drawn out. The progress of capitalist production for centuries was too slight to give public emphasis to this economic transition and command serious consideration for the new aspect of the subject. Consequently, the pre-capitalist theory of interest continued long into the period of capitalist industry. It should be remembered that for the first twelve centuries of the Christian era, eco-

conomic theory and public policy, as well as the standards for personal conduct, were determined by the church. All high authority on religion and philosophy was arrayed against interest for the highest ethical reasons. The injunctions of Moses against usury, the teachings of Aristotle on the "barrenness of money," and the Christian command to "lend, hoping for nothing again," made a moral bulwark against usury, in the interest of humanity, philanthropy and neighborly kindness.

Nor was this the only economic subject upon which the church exercised its authority, and, to its credit be it said, so far at least as its teachings were concerned the economic authority of the church was used in the interest of equity and protection of the poor, especially in regard to prices. The masses were for the most part quasi-slaves. The church took an early stand against chattel slavery and always resisted the pagan custom of slavery-for-debt, and substituted charity for borrowing bread. An important economic question then was to prevent the simple freemen from being swindled in their purchases. Hence honest selling was made a moral and religious question rather than an economic one. Was it allowable, according to the golden rule, "to sell a thing for more than it is worth?"¹ For a long time it was laid down as a sin to charge more for a thing than it was worth, the cost of production being taken as the measure of worth.² Thus it was made sinful to sell a thing for more than it cost, a doctrine which, to say the least, contains a strong element of economic equity.

The tendency of producers to seek a profit naturally led to a multitude of ways of evading this principle. Hence we find, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a gradual but steady modification of the doctrine

(1) Ashley's "Economic History," Vol. I. p. 134.

(2) Ibid. p. 138.

that "cost is the limit of price." At the time of Thomas Aquinas it was argued that if a purchaser would suffer greatly for the want of a thing he might properly give the dealer a little more than it was worth "from good feeling,"¹ though the seller might not properly exact it. A little later it was argued that a man might charge more for a thing than it cost to provide against loss at some other time, which he was forced to incur. So too, with reference to the quality of goods. On the rigid application of the golden rule it was at first laid down as highly sinful to sell defective goods without pointing out the defects to the customer, and then this doctrine was modified so as to permit selling of defective goods without exposing the defect, provided the defect would not cause loss to the purchaser.

All this shows how the church, which was the sole authority on economics, struggled to keep business on an ethical basis and force the observance of the golden rule in the market. It is not surprising, therefore, that interest was kept under the ban long after it had ceased to be an immoral exaction. The schoolmen of the thirteenth century were scarcely less students of Aristotle than teachers of Christianity. Hence the doctrine that "money is barren" and "cannot breed money" was clung to as sound economic philosophy and the command to "lend, hoping for nothing again" was the highest Christian philanthropy. But in the industrial transition one important fact had occurred which made the condition of the common people, even in the middle ages, radically different from that in ancient Greece, Rome and Palestine: namely, that the element of slavery for debt had entirely disappeared, and that the habit and even possibility of borrowing for food practically was gone. The capitalist had assumed the responsibility of furnishing employment and paying

(¹) Ibid. p. 136.

wages, and the church had assumed the responsibility of dispensing charity to the needy; so that, with the establishment of Christianity slavery for debt was abolished, and by the advent of the capitalist system the custom of borrowing for bread had disappeared.

Interest now became a matter of economic equity rather than social oppression, and while it was anathematized the anathema was necessarily modified as the evils disappeared and as the benefits became apparent. This tendency became so marked that by the fourteenth and particularly the fifteenth century borrowing at interest became an economic necessity to business and its prohibition a detriment to society. When the payment of interest thus became a positive benefit to both borrower and lender its suppression became practically impossible as well as injurious. It must be said in favor of the Christians that the principle has always been theoretically applied to all. They did not permit the Christians to take interest of strangers while forbidding it to their brethren, as did Moses. Yet, in the progress of events, when interest became a business necessity and the church was still refusing to withdraw its censure, it directed its penalties for usury mainly against the Jews. It may be that they were the chief sinners in this respect and often exacted more than the "pound of flesh," but they received the penalty in the cumulative wrath of the Christians.

In England, for instance, the whole nation practically turned to persecuting the Jews. They were hemmed in on every hand by law; they were not allowed to hold real property nor employ Christian servants nor even to move through the streets without a colored badge on their breasts to distinguish their race. They were not allowed to build synagogues nor eat with Christians nor act as physicians for any but their own race. As the culmination of this persecuting

fanaticism, in 1290 all who would not become Christians were expelled from the country. "Of the sixteen thousand," says Green,¹ "who preferred exile to apostasy few reached the shores of France. Many were wrecked, others robbed and flung overboard. One ship-master turned a crew of wealthy merchants out on a sandbank, and bade them call a new Moses to save them from the sea. From the time of Edward to that of Cromwell no Jew touched English ground."

Although the exacting of usury in its many offensive forms was doubtless very largely the cause of this hatred of the Jews, as it is now in Russia, their expulsion did not stop the payment of interest. On the contrary, its payment became indispensable to industry, and the doctrine of the church gradually adjusted itself to the persistent necessities of society. In the fourteenth century it began to be argued that interest might be exacted where loss had occurred, but the loss must be proven. Then it was admitted that interest might be demanded to cover probable loss, and finally it was admitted that interest might properly be charged to compensate for the "loss of opportunity" for otherwise profitably using the money.

As industry developed and freedom advanced, political government superseded ecclesiastical authority in secular and particularly industrial affairs. The next step was to limit the amount of interest that might be taken. Under the Tudors this became a matter of law. The first decisive step in this direction was taken in 1545, the last year of Henry VIII.'s reign; it restricted the rate of interest to a maximum of 10 per cent. It had previously been much higher. This to the old-fashioned Christians seemed like legalizing what was forbidden by the word of God, and caused a reaction against interest, and the law was repealed in 1552 only

(1) "A Short History of the English People," p. 224.

to be reenacted twenty years later (1571), since which time interest has been legally recognized by the state and morally recognized by the church and economically demanded by society.

Historically, therefore, the economic as well as ethical character of interest has undergone a complete revolution. Moses and the prophets, Solon and Aristotle, Aquinas and the scholastics, were right in denouncing interest as oppressive and immoral, because in their time it was a direct means of poverty and slavery. So, during the first thousand years of the Christian era, the injunction to "lend, hoping for nothing again," was the embodiment of moral philosophy and economic equity, but, when the new industrial era came and economic production involved borrowing capital for the purpose of increasing productive power, interest became helpful to society. As is always the case, neither religion, philosophy nor law could permanently prevail against the silent working of economic forces. Hence, when the profitable use of capital made the payment of interest as beneficial to borrowers as to lenders, it gradually and inevitably became a recognized feature of legitimate business. In ultimately changing its attitude on the subject, the church did but follow the movement of progress, and it is economically and ethically as correct now in justifying interest as it was from the first to the thirteenth centuries in opposing it. Those who quote the sayings of Moses, Solon, Aristotle and the early Christian fathers as arguments against modern interest, show, like Rip Van Winkle, that they have lost track of time and missed the movements and metamorphoses of social progress. They are asking for the methods of barbarism because they understand not the economics of civilization.

INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING OF THE SOUTH

LEONORA BECK ELLIS

It is not always a conspicuous event that marks the turning point in momentous issues. Seamen may note changed tides and currents from trivial floatage. There came a day in the autumn of 1899 when Liverpool, whose immemorial privilege of dictating the price of our great staple had never previously been questioned, was offering seven cents per pound for cotton; New York, needless to add, was offering the same; but the buyer for the Kincaid cotton mills, in the little town of Griffin, Georgia, went to the wagoner with the acceptable offer of seven and a half cents.

This did not mean that a serious blunder had been made somewhere; it was, on the contrary, a premature sign, trifling, transient, and read by few, but pointing assuredly to a victory of unmeasured import about to be achieved by the southern mill men. A score of factories in the same belt quietly followed Griffin's precedent, and the English buyers stood confused and uncertain of purpose. Yet there was no stir or commotion to draw the gaze of the outside world; and thousands, probably millions, even of those whose interests were closely involved, remained blind to the shifting of the mighty balance.

In the planting months of the succeeding year, change pressed sharply upon change, each sweeping a conscious pace nearer to the overthrow of old conditions. Before the market had fairly felt the movement of the cotton harvest of 1900, before, indeed, the revolutionary prices of the present season were definitely foreshadowed, it became manifest to all serious onlookers that the revolution itself was achieved; that the section

producing three-fourths of the world's cotton had wrested from abroad the prerogative which belongs to her, the right long unclaimed but inherently inalienable, of getting her own valuation upon this magnificent annual contribution to the wealth of nations.

The South has come to her own. Lancashire may not know it; but the lower Atlantic and gulf states no longer constitute a mere agricultural tract, huge, unwieldy, badly tilled, with transportation dependent almost solely upon wagon roads and water ways, with scattered towns and a sparse and anomalous population composed of but two classes, the man with the hoe and the landed aristocracy.

The world must learn, instead, that this vast area, comprehending nearly three-quarters of a million square miles, endowed by nature with marvelous climatic and topographical advantages as well as practically inexhaustible mineral, forest, water and soil wealth, is now threaded by something like 46,000 miles of railway, while its facilities for coast and river navigation are being daily improved; that its prosperous cities are drawing population and capital from every part of the globe; that between the tillers of the soil and the autocratic element once controlling alike issues of economic significance, social interest and state policy, there has sprung up a numerous class, vigorous, versatile, clear-headed, composed of men sometimes with money and blood and sometimes without one or both, but men who urge that the present is the ripe moment for this section to rise to the fulfillment of her destiny as an integral and adequate part of our great federal union, and that she can only do so by the same judicious utilization of her resources and opportunities that the East has shown. The first conclusion to which their doctrine has led is practical and far from complex, but it has a revolutionary significance in the industrial world; it is,

that we are to turn a yearly increasing portion of our own raw products into finished articles of use before we let the outside world, even the sisters of our house, lay hands on them; it is, to specify in one direction, that old and new England are shortly to be brought into line with China, Japan, and eventually all other countries of the globe, as purchasers not of our cotton but of our cotton cloths and garments.

Manufacturing scorned or belittled in the South? That is a lost sentiment, belonging to a past which, though picturesque and with much of pleasure in it, is also lost. Something with better seeds of vitality, endurance, and worth, is found in its place.

England in the sixteenth century felt the first decided movings of the same impulse that now throbs from Virginia to Texas. She went into that critical period a third rate, or, it is more accurate to say, a fourth rate power; she came out an acknowledged leader among nations, with a primacy the strength and duration of which no one now hesitates to attribute in great part to the commercial ascendancy acquired through her immense manufacturing interests. Few will dispute the claim that when the subjects of Elizabeth ceased to send their fleeces to be woven in Flanders and dyed in Florence they had worked out an achievement of better worth and more notable results than when they defeated Philip's armada. In the wake of that great wave of spinning, weaving, fulling, and dyeing, which spread from the English towns to the whole country side, there swept along, moreover, all other practicable forms of manufacturing then developed; and behind these followed a prosperity and comfort that came to include low as well as high, the dissemination of intelligence and education, and a patriotism of truer, more imperishable fibre. Great, undeniably, is English valor, renowned the prowess of the seamen

and soldiers who have victoriously entered nearly every port and fort both in and out of civilization. But do not forget that before Great Britain was recognized as mistress of the seas, her merchant marine was whitening the Atlantic ocean, the Levantine waters, and countless bays and inlets along which good markets were to be found; that before the court of St. James began to be looked to first in every European crisis, London was acknowledged the mart of the world. With such facts in his mind, no one need undervalue the new manufacturing movement in the cotton belt of the United States.

From the point of view of more than one man, one class, or one section, it is unfortunate that this country should have developed less normally, more unevenly, than climatic differences necessitated or advantages in the character of the early population and the first distribution of economic forces required. In studying the development of the material resources of other countries, the fact becomes manifest that they have usually followed more natural lines, that the accidental or the abnormal in such evolution has been eliminated with greater readiness than in our case. Their capital, enterprise, and ability have in general sprung up beside their raw products, and industrial growth with them has thus been an uncomplicated process. For plain instances, recall that Champagne first grew its vast sunny vineyards and then made the favorite wine of the world; that Ireland and the Netherlands not only produce the flax but send their fine linens to all civilized countries; that the Jacquard loom was invented and has hummed ever since in the shadows of the white mulberry terraces; that the clays and sands of Limoges, Sevres, Saxony, Worcestershire, held the original impulse that converted those spots into seats each of a globe-compassing industry.

In the early days of our own country, manufacturing was carried on wholly in a domestic way, and the various colonies exhibited about equal thrift in occupations so worthy. On the plantations along the lower seaboard, all the plain clothes, household fabrics, shoes, and hats were made from the raw materials at hand, the home-grown wools, flax, hemp, hides, and the huntsmen's furs, and practically the same system prevailed in Pennsylvania and New England. The farming implements likewise were of home manufacture, the nails, cooking utensils, and countless other articles. Bloomery forges and smithies, household looms, tanneries, boot, shoe, and carpenter shops, were essential parts of every well-conducted domestic cosmos on the large estates. From the earliest days of the Carolinas and Georgia, silk-weaving as a domestic industry assumed promising proportions, and great expectations were built upon after that famous anniversary on which Queen Caroline wore her handsome and much sonnetized gown of Georgian silk.

But in 1621 a handful of cotton seed had been brought to this country from Cyprus or Smyrna and planted in a Virginian garden, where they grew rather unthrifly for a few seasons. The hour came when a vagrant dreamer, who was laughed at for his pains, predicted that the sorry-looking plant was yet to banish the silk worm from this continent, crowd out the indigo harvests, narrow down the flax, hemp, tobacco, and grain areas. But it was only by some fortunate empiricism that the rusty stalks and white fruitage found their way to more propitious soil and air than the gardens of tide-water Virginia could furnish. The household looms shortly created a demand for wider and wider cultivation. England had begun to buy Levantine cotton and manufacture it in a small way some twenty years after the handful of seed was brought to

her colony on the James River. When the revolutionary war ended, and the young states with the British instinct strong in them began to cast about for a profitable foreign trade, one of their earliest export shipments was that of 1,200 pounds of cotton, in the year 1784, to the abandoned mother-country: a meager contribution it seems when her annual consumption was already 11,250,00 pounds. but as a foretokening it held a ponderous import.

A dozen years more and new machinery, with the harnessing of new power, had made the mighty industrial revolution complete. Why was not the cotton-producing section ready then to become England's rival as a cotton-manufacturing center? For the plain reason that the slave population had crowded out and made impossible the growth of the classes that alone could promote and carry on such an industry. The presence of slave-trade and the conditions of slave-labor had prevented the filling up of that vast gap between the land-holding aristocracy and their human chattels.

The opportunity which the South found herself absolutely unable to grasp was, to the satisfaction of both, seized by democratic and enterprising New England. Her mechanic and laboring classes were large, capable, and thrifty. Transportation of the raw material to her factories would be a simpler matter than across the Atlantic. She built her great mills, one following another speedily; she filled them with the best machinery and most intelligent labor; and for the South's fine fibre she seconded old England in paying prices that made the plantation lords forget their forfeited inheritance and sink into easy contentment. The entire North drew lessons from Fall River and Lowell, and factories sprung up everywhere in that section. For the products of such mills markets opened on all

sides and the wealth of the world rewarded "Yankee" enterprise.

Meantime, below Mason and Dixon's line the fatal element of slavery was working out its inevitable tragedy. The disaster came at last in the form of a life and death struggle that ended in the semblance of death to the South. The depths of suffering and poverty to which her people were hurled by the appalling cataclysm can never be adequately portrayed, nor can the protracted period of torpor be wondered at by anyone who reflects that the slaves emancipated without reimbursement represented a loss of \$3,000,000,000 to a white population of less than 5,000,000, and the destruction that goes hand in hand with war eliminated or rendered useless almost that much more in public and private buildings and works. This, to say nothing of a labor-system in chaos and nearly half a million homes deprived of their defenders and supporters!

But the principle of life in a race of this blood is not easy to crush out. Resuscitation set in at last, followed by slow but complete restoration to usefulness and happiness. The southern people have shown themselves as hardy as they are brave, and have wrought out their own salvation from an almost impossible situation with a courage and energy scarce short of miraculous. While they were painfully restoring their homes and instituting the difficult reorganization of labor, they endeavored also to repair other ravages, to rehabilitate arts and industry, to offer all advantages they could possibly muster to the influx of new population and capital among them.

Meantime, the wise and strong among us have preached and led the good crusade towards the entire remodeling of our agricultural system and the protection of it by those invincible bulwarks of well-established commerce and well-developed manufactures.

When the vast plantations rolling back from the lower Atlantic and the gulf of Mexico were white with the mimic snow so readily convertible into Danae's shower of gold, it was not wholly destructive to crown cotton as king absolute and sacrifice some valuable things to such a cult. But when the struggling farmers and their poor tenants were alike starving, with the price of their most valuable product forced steadily downward until it touched six, five, and finally four and a half cents per pound, it was time to depose the despot, or, better, make him the head of the most liberal constitutional monarchy.

This has been done. A prudently measured diversity of crops is proved by the bulletins of 1900 from every agricultural commission in the South. On the other hand, clear heads everywhere recognize that a home market for the raw cotton and the whole world as a market for their cotton goods is the destiny towards which the cotton-growing states are rapidly sweeping. When this section reaches the point it is now aiming squarely at, that is, the point where it makes all its own bread and meat and at the same time transfers every pound of its cotton direct from the gineries to the home mills, it may roll up the number of millions of bales, multiplying indefinitely, but there can be no such thing as overproduction. The demand of the growing nations will increase as the South's capacity increases.

It would be difficult to point out another industry in another country exhibiting the same phenomenal growth as cotton manufacturing in the South. In the decade since 1890, our number of spindles has increased from 1,699,082 to approximately 7,000,000, while the looms have kept a fairly even pace with the spindles, and the quality of goods manufactured has averaged constantly higher. Moreover, textile institutions, formerly an unknown factor here, are springing up in every cot-

ton state, thus assuring to the movement both worth and perpetuity. No one can fail to interpret these facts. North Carolina manufactures the whole of her cotton crop of 1900 and demands more, while South Carolina and Georgia are consuming very large proportions of their vaster ones. With these facts, there must be taken into account the additional one that there is no present expansion of the industry of any consequence at a distance from the cotton fields either on this continent or in the old world.

Emerson's warning about the famous might that dwells in recoil and reaction is often of late repeated to us, but it does not apply in this case. Growth along natural lines, however rapid in the sappy spring, is never pendulous or retroactive.

All the economic conditions are favorable to the transplantation of this mighty industry in its entirety to southern soil. It is not merely proximity to the cotton fields that renders it expedient, but the marvelous abundance of building materials, the copious water power, the nearness of vast coal fields and timber stretches that give us fuel often at less than half the price paid in New England, the long summers and brief mild winters that make heating and lighting far less expensive, and the presence of an ample supply of native white labor. There is a supplementary claim to all these put forward by a number of practical cotton manufacturers who have tested the matter with thoroughness and assert, from experience, that in this milder climate the machinery "treats" the delicate fibre more favorably and with better results than under the influence of the long and rigorous northern winters.

Space is not allowed, in the compass of a single article, to set forth proof that southern industries in any other line are keeping pace with that of cotton manufacturing, or that our own commercial centers are

meeting the movement with adequate forces; but one who cares to look into the matter further may read the official reports from the Alabama iron districts, the Carolina and Florida phosphate fields, and the hundreds of minor industries that are springing up to make the new development symmetrical. He will also observe how amazing has been the gain of the southern ports in the past half a dozen years.

The question presents itself at last: In taking our own, do we hurt sister sections? The answer is a ready negative: a temporary inconvenience which eventually regulates abnormal development can do no harm; rather, it passes to leave a permanent good.

Industrial and commercial considerations must be taken more and more from the national point of view, and with a truly national sympathy to direct them, if we are to assume and maintain our normal position in the forefront of progressive peoples. Through the more generous, wider-reaching Americanism which has been forged in the white heat of recent circumstance, superseding petty local jealousies and smiting out provincial narrowness, the whole great empire of the West must find matter of satisfaction in this new adjustment and distribution of economic forces.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE TOLEDO *Blade* is getting quite hilarious over the fact that our exports to the Philippines have increased more than twenty-fold since we took possession. This sounds well, but the *Blade* seems to forget that nearly all this increase (about \$2,000,000) is for the United States government itself in conducting the war. Enough of that kind of exports would be disastrous both to us and to the Philippines.

IN THE *Commoner* Mr. Bryan reads a very excellent little moral lecture on plagiarism, and aptly says:

"As the wrongfulness of ordinary larceny does not depend upon the discovery of the theft, so the offence of plagiarism is the same whether it is found out or not."

All writers and speakers who have ideas or power of expression have occasion thoroughly to agree with Mr. Bryan. Congressman McCall may now properly expect to receive the belated acknowledgement of the celebrated "cross-and-crown" peroration.

THE MARYLAND Gorman law seems to have proved the unexpected. It has shown that when illiteracy and ignorance are eliminated the South is not so unconditionally "democratic" as was supposed; that after all the chief element that has made the South "solid" for delivery to anything labeled democratic is ignorance, not color, and, when the voting in the southern states is really left to the intelligent people with education enough to read, there is a division of opinion on public affairs very much the same as in other states. That is a wholesome discovery.

NOTHING SO complimentary to the influence of this country abroad has ever occurred as the recent petition

presented to General Chaffee by a mass meeting of Chinamen in Peking. It shows that in China as everywhere else decency and fairness make an impression. Had all the missionaries as nearly lived up to Christian precepts as General Chaffee has, they would not now be under the painful necessity of having to defend, explain or apologize for many of their doings in China. The conduct of our army in China is a credit to the United States and to western civilization.

CONGRESSMAN DICK of Ohio, once the power behind the throne in the republican national committee, has become a convert to government ownership of telegraphs and telephones on the ground that the post-office is a success. The only reason that the post-office has not gone into bankruptcy long ago is that its losses are made up out of the taxes. Does Col. Dick want to see the industries of the country run in the same way? With our present "boss"-ridden system of politics, and its corrupting jobbery, what reason is there to suppose great industries would be more honestly or efficiently conducted? Before industries can be transferred to public control, with any real hope of improvement, a higher standard of integrity and efficiency in public service must be established.

CONGRESSMAN BABCOCK seems to think that catering to anti-trust sentiment by removing the duty from "trust"-made products is "living up to the republican theory of protection." If he imagines the republican majority in congress can be kept up by this kind of tactics, he is doomed to disappointment. When it comes to mere posing for popular applause, Mr. Bryan can win every time. If the republicans are to keep their power at all they must rise to the level of honest and intelligent protection to industrial interests. It is true

that there are products upon which the tariff may properly be modified or even removed, but that should not be done for any such foolish reason as the formation of a so-called "trust." Mr. Babcock seems to be more interested in the politics than the economics of the tariff.

IN A CIRCULAR recently sent to the affiliated unions throughout the country, President Gompers gave workmen some very wholesome advice. He laid it down as a rule that:

No strike should be inaugurated until every effort has been made by the committee to settle the differences with the employer.

Arbitration should be offered before the strike is begun.

It is easier to adjust a difference before a strike than after.

No unauthorized strike should be recognized or supported.

Secret ballots should always be used when voting on strike matters

When the union enters into an agreement with an employer, its terms should be faithfully kept, regardless of the temptations to break it.

The efforts of the unions should be concentrated to reduce the hours of labor until the eight-hour day is established.

If these recommendations were faithfully lived up to, the trade-union movement would escape much criticism and be very much stronger with the public and unorganized labor as well as with its own members.

MR. CHARLES M. SCHWAB seems to be following very closely in the footsteps of his master, but evidently, when he made his recent speech to the boys of the St. George Manual Training School, he had not been informed of Mr. Carnegie's change of front on college education. He told them that a college education puts a young man "so far behind in the race that he can never catch up." Of course Mr. Carnegie used to talk in a similar strain, but his gift of ten million dollars to make education free in the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrews shows he has entirely changed front. This is not merely a

radical change on Mr. Carnegie's part but it is an astonishing innovation in university education. Mr. Schwab had better line up at once. It will not do for him to be opposing college education when Mr. Carnegie is giving millions to make it as free as air.

IT APPEARS after all that the outcry about "monopoly," against the United States Steel corporation, is a false alarm. Mr. Willis L. King, representing Jones and Laughlin, one of the largest firms in the iron and steel business, recently stated before the industrial commission that the independent manufacturers had nothing to fear from the "trusts." On the contrary, he thinks that the trust is quite as vulnerable as the independents, especially if the latter combine. If this be true—and Mr. King is a high authority—good, strong, wholesome competition is still assured in the iron and steel industry. The fact is that the iron and steel industry is too large to be monopolized by any single corporation. A concern large enough to monopolize that industry in this country would be too large for successful administration. There is really little danger of actual monopoly.

THE FORCES for the campaign to wrest the government of New York city from Tammany are beginning to assemble. It is quite significant that from every faction comes the keynote that unity against Tammany is the single issue. If this can really be made the platform and all anti-Tammany elements will enthusiastically organize under that banner, without qualification as to distribution of patronage, there will at least be a good fight and possibly a victory. But if the citizen's union insists upon a number of crank propositions and the republican organization demands certain appointments, a Tammany victory will be assured. The co-

operation of republicans as well as all anti-Tammany citizens is essential if the contest is to be anything more than a sham fight. If Quigg and Platt demand their pay in advance by dictating candidates or other deals, Tammany might as well be given the walkover and the public allowed to know specifically who is keeping Tammany in power. No arrangement which shall give the patronage of the city over to the Platt and Quigg element would be worth the fighting for.

THOSE WHO are disposed to censure the workingmen for inaugurating strikes when they are getting good wages, seem to forget that this is nearly the only way workmen can secure a share of the national prosperity. A few cases have occurred where employers have voluntarily given shorter hours or an advance of wages. On the first of May last year the Standard Oil Company raised the wages and shortened the hours of its forty thousand laborers without being asked, but this is a rare exception. For the most part every demand is refused until the laborers take the means to make it cost the employers more to refuse than to grant the request. The machinists' strike is a clear case in point. They ask for a nine-hour day,—a very legitimate and proper request. It is refused. If the metal manufacturers of this country cannot afford to give the mechanics the nine-hour day now, when business is booming and profits are bubbling, they never can. There is no reasonable ground for refusing a nine-hour day for American mechanics, and if they conduct the strike with decorum and respect for law and order they will in all probability get it.

IN TESTIFYING before the industrial commission, on trusts, Mr. Schwab took a side thrust at labor unions, charging that:

"Under the labor-union system all members are reduced to a dead level of equality, and the wage scale largely is determined by the worth and capability of the cheapest workman, instead of the most capable and highest priced. This narrows opportunity, dulls ambition and gives no man a chance to rise."

This is the old stale charge against trade unions, which never was sustained because in any general sense it never was true. It is not surprising that the federation of labor has asked to submit a rebuttal to Mr. Schwab's statement on this point, and we shall be greatly surprised if it does not effectively dispose of him to his discredit. Mr. Schwab appears to have imbibed the bad as well as the good in Mr. Carnegie's methods. The treatment of organized labor, and especially that disastrous conflict at Homestead in 1892, stands out and probably will forever stand out as a blot on the industrial management of Mr. Carnegie, which no amount of free libraries can ever obliterate.

That workingmen make mistakes, are narrow, suspicious and sometimes treacherous, and do not always keep their agreements, will not be denied. They have all the weaknesses that ignorance and crude conditions naturally produce, but their improvement can only come along the same lines as the improvement of all other classes—association and organization. Of this Mr. Schwab, as the president of the billion-and-a-half dollar steel corporation, is the most conspicuous representative. A more striking spectacle of unfairness could hardly be found than the head of the steel "trust" arguing before the industrial commission against the right of workingmen to organize in their own interest. A mere sense of the fitness of things should have admonished Mr. Schwab to be silent on that subject.

THE *ÉCOLE LIBRE* IN PARIS

LEON MEAD

This article treats of an institution which has a unique history and is among the foremost of its kind in the world; and, as a similar school may be founded sooner or later in this country, it should be said at the outset that the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, in Paris, is in many particulars most worthy of our imitation. In fact, several universities in the United States have already established courses modelled upon those pursued in this institution.

Inaugurated in 1871, its founder, Émile Boutmy, who is still its director, had perceived that while liberal culture existed in France among the middle classes it lacked prestige. The college provided elementary learning; it turned out men who knew their mother tongue, a little Latin, science and history. The special high schools, like the law, medical, polytechnic and normal schools, aimed to develop purely professional abilities. The *Sorbonne* and *Collège de France* made scholars and learned men. But the keen and sagacious observer of the great movements and spirit of the nineteenth century, the man who was able to modify or stimulate them, the judicious citizen, the competent judge of political questions, the man who was equipped to discuss them thoroughly and to lead public opinion—where did he come from? What school prepared him?

Such men M. Boutmy met sometimes in the world, but they were entirely self-made. They were fortuitous; chance did not often produce them. This combination of intelligence, which is the strength and bond of society, was extremely rare among the middle-class in France. Every day a nation deteriorates when

scholars have only professional men for their auditors; when the statesman can find capable auxiliaries only among those who have steady employment, and intelligent criticism only from those who want his place.

Why, for instance, did the direction of public opinion belong to venal, frivolous journalism? It was because the men who appreciated a conscientious, incorruptible press comprised too small a minority to maintain it. Among some other necessary things, France had not known how to produce every year two or three hundred men of high culture who, mingling with the masses of the nation, might have imbued them with a respect for learning and taught them the habit, even though with difficulty, of doing difficult things. The faction that judged and decided everything without study thus would have received a mortal blow. These worthies reign to-day alas! just as did the noblemen and courtiers in the time of Molière, but their number is growing beautifully less.

Therefore M. Boutmy believed he announced the evil and the remedy together when he said: "We lack in France an organized system of high culture, or, if you prefer, of high liberal education—we must organize it."

But how was this to be done? Certainly not by addressing to the proper minister a project destined in advance to be ridiculed by cartoons and to be speedily forgotten. "Let us begin," urged M. Boutmy,—“the time is ripe for it—by making our own arrangements.” The government was no longer obligated to make experiments in teaching, any more than it was to speculate with individual finances. It was not equal to the absolute requirements of that dark hour.

Private initiative is daring, active and supple. It is to the honor of independent nations that spontaneous associations are permitted to test new ideas, and the

moral strength of nations is measured by the share which each citizen has in such trials. Liberty belongs only to those who put their hearts in the great affairs of their country and have the wisdom and energy to keep them in their own hands.

The modern methods of teaching, in France, were designed for those who had settled positions and the leisure to devote to the cultivation of their minds. Formerly these classes had had in their favor law and customs and political preponderance, but sometime before the year 1871 they were menaced. Suddenly everywhere, customs betray them, law abandons them. The peasant excludes from his town council the large landowner and the descendants of the old lords. As a rule, the workman votes against what his employer wants, and *vice versa*. In this ruin of favors which gave them power, in the decline of sentiment which assured them moral influence, the classes, in their turn, lost much in being excluded from their acquired situations, from those vested rights and privileges which they had for so long a time interdicted to the majority of their fellow-citizens. This, to be sure, was unjust revenge, and by striking men thus it did not touch the two vital conditions of any progressive human society—the authority of intelligence, and the administration of the government by the best men.

Those two things, declared Boutmy and his coadjutors, must not perish. The threatened classes would have been foolish to believe that they could, by legal resistance, be maintained in the positions they still occupied and recover lost ones. We may recover that which escapes, but not that which falls into dust. The privilege no longer existed; democracy would not retrace her steps. Obligated to suffer the numerical will, classes which called themselves high classes could preserve their political homogeneity only by invoking the

protection of the most able. It was destined that, behind the falling walls of prerogative and tradition, the waves of democracy should meet a second rampart—made with a view to stanchness and utility.

The objections against a political school depending upon the government were many. It was argued that the state is a great composite personage. All her movements are watched, all her actions challenge criticism. Men desire her to do everything, but they find something wrong in all she does. That she will never be without some danger which she will try to cover with her name is a teaching of French politics. But through fear of raising storm and tumult she is obliged to limit this teaching; to hedge it in with certain reservations. The minister of foreign affairs (in 1871) had once entertained the idea of establishing in his department a regular course in diplomatic history. He soon gave it up. Perhaps he foresaw that if the professor depended ostensibly on a ministerial department the latter would become responsible for his utterances and exact of him discretion, concealments and euphemisms, which obviously are a rule of the service. What course of instruction could have been subjected to so many precautions and such coddling without becoming enervated and anæmic? It would be a difficult thing for a school of administration to treat fearlessly all the subjects that belong to it if the state should assume the direction and protection of the school as well as the responsibility for such training.

Another point taken into consideration was that the teaching of political science in France was then a recent innovation. In this system there were many tests to be made, many improvements to try, whether they should prove successful or not. But the state, with proper apprehension, would not allow the work to proceed under her name and auspices so long as the results

aimed for were uncertain. She did not wish to place herself in a relationship that would expose her to censure. She would act only when the success of the undertaking was sure. Of course, when the establishment had passed beyond the stage of an experiment and was dignified by age, the state's full and unqualified endorsement would be easy enough to obtain. But she is an indifferent guardian to young enterprises of this kind, which are not well defined. If she watch them too closely and suspiciously, she is quite likely to suspend them before they have time to ripen. For these reasons it was desirable, for the time being at least, that any school of administration should be independent of the state.

The conclusion then was evident. The most satisfactory solution of the problem was the founding of a school of political science in France by private initiative. Independent of the government; responsible only to itself for the direction of the curriculum; able to treat freely any subject, governed only by convenience and extent; freer than official establishments to attempt improvements, if not better able to accomplish them quicker,—it would give birth to progressive and valuable ideas. The only official action to be desired was that of legislation, which would prescribe competitive examinations for those who were ambitious to enter the public service. The study of political and administrative science thus would be fostered, without committing the government to any formal obligations.

In one of his strongly written monographs, M. Boutmy gave the following epitome of the purpose of the school: "When we say: there is organized instruction in France for physicians, lawyers, engineers, soldiers, etc., but none for statesmen, are we not betraying an anomalous condition? Or must we believe that natural gifts and experience in public affairs, without

special instruction, are sufficient to supply all the statesmen our country needs? If we may judge by the last twenty or thirty years, nature has not been so prodigal of her gifts. And as for experience, that only insures capability in one narrow groove of activity. Therefore, there is a manifest lack of publicists in the broad and complete sense of the word. A special, well-ordered instruction is indispensable, but even that will not render superior those who are born ordinary men. It will indicate the character of various vocations, multiply views and develop that general and oracular ability which distinguishes the born statesman. It will reveal a greater number of aptitudes and a higher level of mental competence will be attained."

What France unsuccessfully tried to do was accomplished through the initiative of a few citizens, who started and maintained the *École Libre* for eighteen years with their own private resources—about three million francs—without any pecuniary help from the government, without any salaries for their services. During that period over 3,000 young men trained in this institution found places as public functionaries; the standard was considerably raised in those courses having in view an *entrée* to the four great departments of the French government; about one thousand foreigners were attracted to the school, where they imbibed French ideas, and in many cases were relieved of preconceived prejudices against the Gallic temperament.

There precious friendships were formed, and in after years it was an inexpressible pleasure for some of these students to meet again as accredited diplomats to a foreign court. Many new studies were inaugurated, several books of great value were expressly written for the use of the students, and thus the institution which in the beginning, by its very nature, was depreciated

or ignored as a partisan project finally won the esteem of all parties and partisans, as well as their respect by its catholic and thorough management; so that it is to-day an efficacious instrument of national education and of French influence in the world.

Different conditions, aptitudes and vocations answer to the different careers for which the school prepares its members. What qualifies a diplomatist, according to the French notion, is well known. He needs a certain amount of wealth, influential acquaintances, the tastes and habits of society, self-possession, the grace of yielding easily to a certain formalism. Wealth is less necessary in the consulates and administrative careers. They need there a punctilious and diligent spirit which takes pleasure in clearing up and resolving the difficulties of a question. The decree of November 20, 1894, which reorganized the course of admission to the ministry of foreign affairs, established two series of examinations for future diplomats and consuls. The first series must be undergone after four months, the second after twelve months of probation—exclusively accomplished in the offices of the ministry or partly as a functionary in a foreign country. Young men who are destined for diplomatic or consular careers could scarcely be advised to begin their term of probation before having finished their studies in the school. The obligations imposed upon them during their official apprenticeship do not leave them leisure enough to pursue the courses and do besides the personal work that is essential to their success as students. Before entering the offices of the ministry they must have all the knowledge which they will be required to demonstrate and which they would not have the time to acquire during the period of their official drudgery. Consequently, they are supposed or

ought to have followed the two years' course in the diplomatic section of the *École Libre*.

The following is a summary of what is taught in the *École Libre* :

History of economical doctrines. (Perpetual Endowment.) Founded by J. H. Goldschmidt.

Social economy. (For twenty years.) Founded by Countess de Chambrun.

Double courses for one year :

Diplomatic history from 1789 to 1878.

Administrative matters.

Simple courses for one year :

Political history of Europe during the past 20 years.

Constitutional history of Europe and the United States.

Political and economical questions in eastern Asia.

Public finances.

Administrative organization.

Rights of nations.

Conventional international law.

Two years' courses :

Diplomatic history from 1713 to 1789.

Affairs of the orient.

Colonial policy of European states since 1783.

Parliamentary and legislative history of France since 1789.

History of political ideas and of public spirit during the last two centuries.

History of external commerce and custom-house legislation of France.

Political economy.

Money-credit-exchange.

Affairs of banking.

Public hygiene.

Legislation of work and wages.

Railroad legislation.

Compared commercial and maritime legislation.

Compared civil legislation.

Mussulman law.

Compared colonization.

Colonial legislation.

Economical geography.

Geography of French possessions.

Geography and Ethnography.

Geography and Military Organization.

In the language courses many special lectures and complementary studies are given. In short, the schedule embraces everything that a man who wishes to be a well-informed citizen ought to know. The knowledge here purveyed is particularly necessary to the statesman, the thinker and the political writer. The instruction acquired here is the best initiation to public life as well as a splendid introduction to the study of social science.

In a more special point of view, the school of political sciences purposes to carry out the object of the former school of administration—abandoned by the French government. Each one of the chief divisions of its instruction constitutes a complete preparation for one of the following careers and to concourses or examinations which give the cachet to them:

1. Diplomacy (ministry of foreign affairs, legations—consulates).

2. State council (*auditorat* of second class).

3. Administration. (Both central and departmental. Law business in the ministries; under-prefectships—general secretaryships of department—prefecture councils.)

4. Inspection of finances.

5. Court of accounts.
6. General government of Algeria (central administration—administration of mixed communities).
7. Protectorate of Tunis. (Service of control.)
8. Financial, industrial and commercial enterprises in France, in the colonies and in foreign countries.

The program combines the elements of superior instruction which prepare for posts of initiative or control in the commercial and legal services in the great industrial and financial companies, especially those which are based upon a concession or a monopoly—banks, railway companies, ground-credit companies, financial societies, etc. It also offers the necessary preparation for consulates in the Orient and for employments depending on the companies which have vast interests in those countries. Various companies have founded scholarships for their clerks in the *École Libre*.

During the last seven years the results obtained in competitive examinations for careers to which the school prepares young men show that all the successful candidates for positions in the departments of inspection of finances and court of accounts came from the school; and that 95 per cent. of the candidates for the state council and ministry of foreign affairs, who passed and were accepted, came from the school.

As for the corps of instructors, it includes some of the most learned and distinguished men in France. Among them have been or are: H. Taine, M. Lavasieur, Albert Sorel, Renault, Funck-Brentano, Leon Say, André Lebon, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, De Fonville and others. Some among those mentioned hold very high and responsible positions in the French government.

A school of diplomacy in this country might well be modeled after the one in Paris, with of course such modifications as would place it in accord with the genius of our government and people.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Progress of
Syracuse
University

The new catalogue of Syracuse University is creditable to that institution and ought to be encouraging to its friends.

Under the vigorous and stimulating management of Chancellor Day the university has reached second place among the great educational institutions of New York state, and now has more than 1,600 students, with an alumni body numbering about 3,000. The university was opened in 1871 with only 41 students in the academic department. It now offers nearly 200 courses of study in the college of liberal arts alone. Recently it has received several generous additions to its endowment fund, which will mean of course increased facilities and superior educational advantages for its student body. Probably few eastern universities are able to offer so much at so moderate a cost, the average expenses of the students being only about three to four hundred dollars per year.

Much of the growth and increasing prominence of Syracuse University is due, unquestionably, to the happy combination of a liberal modern spirit with reasonable conservatism, in its management. Syracuse is happily free from the sporadic "faddism" which occasionally gains entrance to some of our American universities. It is governed on the principle that a university has no moral right to train young men in anything except the best verified knowledge and soundest educational and scientific opinion of the time. In other words, it does not believe that to be liberal and modern in the true sense a university must give free rein to all kinds of radical and undigested doctrines long before they have been adequately tested by experience and scientific investigation. However fascinating

this sort of "freedom" may be, a university ought to have some conscientious regard for the well-balanced training and sound mental processes of the young men for whose education it becomes responsible. An individual, responsible to nobody, has the privilege of propagating practically whatever ideas he chooses, but it is not for a university to endorse and spread them until they have been established as true, so far as investigation and the best consensus of opinion and experience can establish them at any given time. The attitude of Syracuse University in this matter is well described as "conservative in declining to sacrifice to the spirit of mere novelty what has been found by long experience to be valuable in education, but ready for all that promises advancement in method or results."

**Extension of the
Chautauqua Work**

The Chautauqua movement is steadily extending its influence and scope of work. One of its recent reports gives the interesting information that, last season, "the total enrollment of students in the summer school reached in round numbers 2,500, who pursued 168 different courses under 83 instructors. This represents the largest summer school attendance in the United States. The report of the division of Chautauqua home study showed that the reading courses were being energetically extended and enthusiastically pursued in many of the eastern states as well as in the states and territories of the middle and far West. Over 260,000 readers and 50,000 graduates have taken advantage of these home reading courses. The purchase, during the year, by the Mother Chautauqua of the interests of the Winona reading circle, Winona, Ind., has brought into the membership of the C.L.S.C. a large number of new recruits from Indiana. One of the most remarkable of the reading circles is located in the prison at

Stillwater, Minn., where, for the past ten years, it has exerted a notable influence among the convicts in the regeneration of life and character. Active circles have also been carrying on the work for years in the Argentine Republic, Chili, and the Hawaiian Islands. Jamaica in the West Indies, Yokohama, Japan and India report large new circles. Chautauqua readers are also pursuing the courses in Mexico, Venezuela, Portugal, England, France, Germany, Finland, Alaska, Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines and other foreign islands and countries. Last summer over 120 Chautauqua assemblies were held in 34 different states and territories, the attendance at which aggregated a million of people. Thus the Chautauqua agencies operate as radiating literary centers for the intellectual and social life of the people of this and other lands."

Of course, the Chautauqua system is no approach in accuracy or thoroughness to the regular courses of instruction in colleges and universities; indeed, it makes no pretence of the sort. It does reach a great field that the universities cannot touch, however, and exerts a most wholesome social as well as educational influence. Moreover, while its courses are admittedly somewhat superficial, they are considerably less so than they were ten or fifteen years ago. The quality of the work is much better and the results more creditable. The summer courses at Chautauqua lake this season promise to be unusually attractive, and preparations have been made for a large attendance.

Psychological
Value of the
Carnegie Gifts

Considerable criticism has been directed against Andrew Carnegie's great gift of \$5,200,000 to New York city for free public libraries. It is pointed out that in the end the furnishing of building sites and annual support for these libraries will cost the city many times the amount

of this gift, while Mr. Carnegie will get all the credit; in other words, that future generations of taxpayers will have to carry the permanent burden of perpetuating Mr. Carnegie's name on each and every one of these institutions.

From one point of view it is quite true that Mr. Carnegie's custom of building "Carnegie" libraries, on condition that the town or city shall perpetually support these institutions, is a rather effective way of making the public keep his memory green. Every locality which accepts one of these libraries virtually gives Mr. Carnegie a mortgage on fame and binds itself perpetually to pay the interest.

This way of regarding the matter, however, is narrow, hypercritical, and quite as unworthy on the part of the public as any possible egotism on the part of Mr. Carnegie. The community is not primarily concerned with the personal motives of a particular individual. It is concerned with the libraries and with the actual getting of them. If Mr. Carnegie's plan of furnishing a building, on condition that the municipality supply the amount of the maintenance funds, has the effect of stimulating a large number of towns and cities (especially New York) to appropriate generous amounts for these purposes, then so much the better for the Carnegie method. New York city ought to spend much more than it does, and more all the time, for educational and civilizing institutions and influences, and experience continually shows how hard it is to make headway in behalf of such expenditures against the everlasting cry of economy and low tax rates. Nearly every appropriation for new or enlarged educational or socially-civilizing institutions has to be fairly wrung out of the city treasury by a constant process of public demand, argument, scolding and agitation, but an offer like Mr. Carnegie's at once starts so strong a current in favor of

assuming the obligations coupled with it that, in consequence, a great stride is taken almost without effort.

Every such stimulation to public generosity, in behalf of wholesome and progressive institutions, is worth a great deal more than the literal amount of cash involved. It creates a psychological atmosphere favorable to expansion in all these directions more readily and easily than months or sometimes years of agitation could develop; and the good effects of this reaching out into new fields grow by their own momentum. New York ought to accept the Carnegie gift, therefore, if for no other reason than that it will create a public opinion favorable to spending large amounts for public education in various important ways. From this standpoint, the wrangling about Mr. Carnegie's individual motives is too trivial and insignificant to be worthy a moment's public attention.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

National Duty, Present and Future

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE:

Dear Sir:—I have enjoyed your magazine very much. It has been helpful to me. A minister feels the need of such a periodical. I turn back to the old numbers many times in looking up some question of government policy. Your articles are able and unprejudiced. Though I do not fully agree with you in your attitude toward the new possessions, yet you have put the matter before my mind in such a way that I can very clearly see that you have good ground for your position. I recall also Froude's words in the first chapter of his *Biography of Cæsar*: "If there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties."

If I knew that the present administration was seeking to hold these provinces simply because it wished to enlarge the territory of our possessions I would accept your position. But it does seem to me that our nation, having declared that Spain was incompetent to govern her dependencies, was bound to try in some way to better their condition. Personally I am not willing to

admit the natives to share our constitution, nor am I willing that this nation should turn away from an evident duty in seeking to establish better conditions. The situation is unusual and has no exact analogy in history. (Rev.) D. E. WILLIAMSON, Hillsdale, Mich.

[We have no difficulty in appreciating our correspondent's point of view with reference to the foreign policy of the government. It is indeed an unusual situation. We have never wished to convey the impression that we favored simply "sailing away" and abandoning our new island possessions. On the contrary, we believe that it was and is our duty to remain until a normal and natural transfer of government under peaceful conditions can be made. Our point of view has been that, while we ought to remain as long as the conditions demand, the policy of our government should be to direct the peoples of these islands towards independent self-government rather than towards becoming an integral part of the United States. This is why we are so urgent that our government live up strictly to the pledge made to Cuba, and why we have steadily declared in favor of adopting our Cuban policy in the Philippines. What we are interested in is the general trend of our policy with reference to the future rather than the immediate presence of our troops in these islands. Our present occupation can be justified on the grounds of emergency and expediency, and if necessary it might last for a number of years, but the important thing in our judgment is so to shape our policy during our occupation that we may, later on, be able to leave these people to work out their own political evolution, and not subject our own institutions to the strain of taking on inferior groups, on the one hand, or practically nullifying the constitution in order to govern them arbitrarily, on the other.]

A Word of Commendation

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE:

Dear Sir:—Of all the good things of this progressive age, GUNTON'S MAGAZINE is without doubt fulfilling a great and grand mission; fearless, fair, condensed, helpful, hopeful, pointing the way to a higher, broader and a better civilization. It has been gladly received and fully appreciated. E. P. CONNER, Redding, Cal.

A Great Problem of the Hour

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE:

Dear Sir:—In some way I have mislaid my copies of the *Bulletins* on "The Peril of Popular Government," and "Shall the People Nominate, and How?" They are so valuable, so statesmanlike and timely—that I cannot do without them. Please mail me another copy of each.

(Chancellor) J. H. KIRKLAND,
Vanderbilt University,
Nashville, Tenn.

Fairness in Discussion

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The direct, fearless manner in which subjects are handled in your magazine is certainly very commendatory. There is no subserviency. Truth is only half a truth when in the interests of a special class. I admire GUNTON'S MAGAZINE because it is fair and unbiased, seeking to present the truth for truth's sake. There is no rank fanaticism in it. I trust it will continue to maintain the high regard for the right presentation of public questions which so far has characterized it from the beginning.

EDGAR L. DAVIS, Educational Director Y. M.
C. A., Indianapolis, Ind.

An Old Soldier on Annexation Policy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The conservative course, as regards national politics, taken by your magazine induces me to encourage its views by taking a copy of it, as per enclosed order. I do hope that you will insist that Cuba must be *free*, and that the United States does not saddle itself with that island nor any other ones where the character and ignorance of the people make it impossible for their population and our own good, honest, industrious people to assimilate.

We have much to congratulate ourselves for, that Generals Scott and Taylor did not wildly shriek: "Where the American flag goes it must stay" when they entered the city of Mexico half a century ago. The doctrine which now stands on this principle would have little sympathy from Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln or Cleveland; and we are led to consider the question whether we are advancing or retrograding in our national purity and honesty.

AN OLD SOLDIER, Philadelphia, Pa.

QUESTION BOX

Corporations and Government Aid

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In a recent lecture you have said that our great corporations no longer require government aid, yet here is the shipping industry, and the manufacturing concerns having steamship interests, trying desperately to get heavy bounties out of the government,—not merely protection but direct gifts of money. The facts show that the great bulk of these bounties would go to a few large establishments, and it seems like a straight case of corporations looting the public treasury.

M. E.

The statement in the lecture to which our correspondent refers was not that all corporations, nor even all large corporations, “no longer require government aid.” It was stated, however, that the tendency is for corporations to become less dependent and the very large ones entirely independent of government aid. The shipping industry is far short of having reached that stage of economic efficiency. It is one of the industries, and there are many others, which still need protection and a considerable amount of it. The recent bill providing shipping bounties is a very poor, and perhaps the worst, way of affording that protection. It has whatever objections a truly protective measure through discriminating duties would have, and less of the virtues. But the fact that the shipping industry still needs protection does not militate in the least against what I have said. The woollen, silk and other industries still need protection; but some of the very largest concerns illustrate the fact that the tendency of large corporations is to outgrow the necessity of government aid.

Wealth a Social Fact

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—We would like to have you settle a question for us. It may seem trivial, but we wish to have an exact understanding of the principal definitions and to understand fully why one thing is included in and another excluded from the several definitions.

Upon reading the first part of the second paragraph on page 65 of "*Principles of Social Economics*" it would appear that food, such as game, oysters, etc., in the possession of a man living apart from his fellows, and necessary to his subsistence, would not be wealth, while under the definition given about the middle of page 67 such food would be wealth. It would be capable of gratifying human wants and desires, and human effort would be necessary in order that it might be utilized. An explanation of this matter will be greatly appreciated.

B. F. M., JR.

Your confusion has arisen, evidently, over the statement that wealth is "essentially a social phenomenon." The meaning intended to be conveyed by this expression was simply that wealth, as such, exists only in relation to man. The word social was used to imply man in general. As a practical matter, wealth almost universally has reference to groups of men; isolated existence being so rare as hardly to come within the range of economic discussion except in illustration of primeval or hypothetical conditions. In actual experience, although there may be a few voluntary exiles from active society, there are almost none entirely without the range of social influences to at least some meager extent. Therefore, the word social is used for convenience in the definition of wealth simply because it illustrates the almost universal condition, but theoretically a group of people is not essential to the idea of wealth. Wealth is wealth if it is being utilized or consumed by only one person in isolation just the same as if by an entire community.

The Steel "Trust" and Independent Producers

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Even though the new steel trust should keep industry steady and prices down, does not the objection still hold against it that it closes the door to individual industry? It compels every one who would engage in the iron and steel business to do so as an employee instead of as an independent man.

R. M. S.

The opportunity to enter the iron and steel industry as "an independent man" has long ago disappeared, if by independent man is meant individual effort. For a long time, nothing short of a collection of capital has been possible to give the world the best results and make possible successful competition in the iron and steel business. But the opportunities for individuals to display their special ability and get greater and greater returns for it are increased by these large corporations. The "independent man," so called, never can be a success in business except to the extent that he has exceptional ability. If he has exceptional ability as a manager, which is the chief element of success in the "independent man," the opportunities are greater and greater every day as corporations develop. In fact, the demand for exceptional managing ability is increasing faster than the supply. There is a greater call for managing genius than ever before, and higher salaries are offered.

As for the great mass who constitute the army of workers, under no condition of industry are they independent factors. They always make up the mediocre rank and file and follow the lead of the enterprising few. That has been the case in all ages and in all classes. This great mass gets its benefit from civilization, not by its own innovations and exceptional enterprise, for it has none, but from the improved general

conditions created by the few who take the lead and inaugurate the new. Every improvement in products, reduction in price, increase in wages, every added social opportunity by improved sanitation and convenience in home conditions, wholesome influences in workshop life, shorter hours, increased education; in fact, every addition made by the progress of civilization they share in. But it is always the experimentation, enterprising genius and inventive devices of the few which produce these improvements. In reality, therefore, opportunities for the "independent man," that is, the energetic and exceptional man, have steadily increased as industrial development and diversification have advanced. To-day with the numerous large corporations there are hundreds of avenues for exceptional effort that did not exist at all under the small concerns and simple methods of fifty and seventy-five years ago. A single city now affords a greater number of opportunities for individual effort than were to be found in the entire country at the beginning of the century.

Corruption and Popular Nominations

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I believe it is admitted that legislatures are no better than the people who elect them. You have been urging the "direct-nominations" reform, but even if the people had free choice in nominations we should still have a large number of corruptible men elected. The bosses could still control legislation, by bribing these men after their election, instead of preventing their nomination beforehand. In short, I do not see that you will ever really cure this evil until the people are educated up to the point of choosing only clean, sensible men to represent them. J. H. S.

Of course it is true that no mere system of nomination or election will eliminate from politics all the motives for corruption. The legislatures will not be

materially better than the people. They are not now as good as the people. The reason for wanting direct nominations is that the people are much honester and less interested in corrupt practices than are the bosses, who blackmail corporations and dictate nominations. But if the people are ignorant and servile, the legislatures will not be very intelligent and independent. All that political machinery can ever do under a democracy is to insure that the opportunities—guaranteed opportunities—shall exist for the people to nominate and elect representatives as good as themselves.

As to the bribing after election, there may be some of that, but the bosses would have no organized control over the legislature and could only affect legislation by the direct expenditure of money upon the members. They could not threaten them with defeat at the polls the next year or prevent their renomination in the primaries, and in order to have the means to buy the legislatures they would be forced to go to the corporations for the money to do it, and the corporations would only furnish the money for such purposes when there was some legislation that they either very much needed or dreaded, and they would only contribute then when the boss could give reasonable assurance that he could "deliver his goods." With purer popular nominations, much of the motive for all this would disappear, because there would only be a few people in any legislature open to such approaches, and they seldom would be able to control the policy of the legislature, especially if the object was an unworthy one.

It is not pretended that corruption would become impossible by direct nominations, but that it would become much more difficult. It is believed that the members of the legislatures would be freer, because assured of the right to appeal to their constituents for endorsement; and that the bosses, having lost the power to

dictate nominations, could not coerce the legislatures; and that corporations, wanting no special legislation and being comparatively free from "blood-money" exaction, would take comparatively little active interest in legislation, as corporations, and hence would refuse to hand over large sums to the bosses. Nothing would drive the boss to the rear quite so effectively as the falling off of his revenues.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HUMANISM. By Henry Wood, 1901. Lee & Shepard, Boston. Cloth, 319 pages. \$1.25.

This is an attempt to interpret political economy through human nature. The author declares that: "Conventional political economy, as professionally formulated, lacks a practical element which renders it of little utility in actual experience. Not being fitted into the nature and constitution of man, it is largely a mass of fine-spun intellectual abstraction." There is some truth in this, and yet this kind of criticism may be altogether too sweeping. If there is one criticism to which scholastic political economy is more open than another it is that it has done exactly what Mr. Wood sets out to do, *viz.* to find a universal law in human nature and give that complete freedom to solve its own problems. Self-interest has been selected as this universal principle and unrestricted competition its only weapon. The political economy of humanism as presented by Mr. Wood is in effect a restatement of this negative *laissez faire* theory.

Mr. Wood seems to think freedom is the key to social life. He sees it as the cause instead of the consequence of progress. He is so carried away with this idea that, like Edward Atkinson, he thinks shortening the hours of labor is a restriction of the laborers' freedom. He says: "It may be asked: Do you favor long hours? No; but personal freedom. If one choose to work ten hours instead of eight it is his privilege, and no man, organization, nor even the state, has the moral right to coerce him. . . . The workman *does* need time for mental and moral improvement, but, important as these are, freedom is still more so."

Nothing has been written for a long time more surcharged with error than this. It is superficiality itself. It presupposes that in the absence of all legal restriction every individual is free. That is simply the freedom of barbarism, which is the direst slavery.

The author seems not to know that it is a part of the very nature of modern industrial society that the individual laborer has practically no control over the number of hours and other conditions in his individual case. By the nature of things he is compelled to work the same number of hours and for the same general wages that the group of which he is a part works. If he is a shoemaker, cotton operative, a railroad engineer or a skilled mechanic, these conditions are all determined for him more than by him. He is but one of a large group embracing the whole industry, in which practical uniformity of conditions is an economic necessity. It is for this reason that, despite the sort of reasoning Mr. Wood here presents, the use of organization and legislation in the regulation of conditions under which laborers live and work have steadily increased, and concurrently with this the laborer's freedom has advanced and not diminished.

Here is another statement which is characteristic of Mr. Wood's "*Political Economy of Humanism*." It is so fundamental that it is put in italics: "If it were possible by universal combination among workingmen to advance wages fifty per cent., it would not in the least improve their condition. The price of everything which they need would be enhanced in the same proportion, and they would have no larger surplus at the end of the year than they had before." Could anything smack more of "intellectual abstraction," and could anything be more contrary to the continuous experience repeated over and over again during the last century? If it were true that an increase of wages en-

hances the price of all commodities in the same proportion, there could have been no real improvement in the laborer's condition by virtue of increased wages. Instead of this the reverse is well-nigh universal experience. Lowering of prices has been a concomitant of advancing wages. There are some peculiar conditions under which Mr. Wood's statement would be true; for instance, where the product is all the result of hand labor; but the fact is that where hand labor is universal wages seldom rise, and the reason that hand labor remains universal is very largely because wages do not rise. Men are cheaper than horses or machines. The rise in wages is one of the greatest forces that have operated during the last century to force into existence the use of machinery and with it the ultimate cheapening of products. Mr. Wood's book is seriously open to the defect which, according to his preface, it was written to correct, namely, reasoning from abstraction with too little relation to actual experience.

The title, "Political Economy of Humanism," is a good one. All the forces which make for economy in doing the world's work are developed through influences operating upon human character. Cheapness is not born of invention but of expanded human consumption. Briefly, demand is the great force that sets all society in action and supply is the result. The increased demands arise from the expansion of human desires, and human desires expand and multiply in response to human experience. The opportunities for these experiences, when scientifically treated, can be helped in innumerable ways by government. Education, sanitary surroundings in domestic life, short hours of labor, and contact with cultivating and inspiring social influences are among the numerous things that stimulate development of character. Increased demand for products leads to the development of science and

invention in manufacture and a whole world of wealth-cheapening devices. The character-stimulating conditions out of which these increased demands grow have been, are and can be established and promoted by organization, association and legislation; and any theory of political economy which denies this omits to count with the chief facts in human progress.

POLITICS AND THE MORAL LAW. By Gustav Rue-
melin. Translated from the German by Rudolf Tom-
bo, Jr., Ph. D., Columbia University. With introduc-
tion and notes by Frederick W. Holls, D. C. L., 1901.
125 pages, cloth, 75 cents. The Macmillan Co., New
York.

This is an essay on treaty obligations or the re-
lation of the moral law to international politics. It is
a very able and comprehensive discussion of the subject.
The author, however, appears to think that neither the
decatalogue nor the golden rule applies to international
politics. He says:

"The injunctions 'Thou shalt' and 'Thou shalt
not' of the decatalogue and of legal language have a
sanction only when they are imposed by the state as the
supreme authority upon the obedience of the indi-
vidual." Thus the commands "Thou shalt not kill"
and "Thou shalt not steal" do not apply to nations.
This kind of moral law has been fairly well lived up to.
The golden rule he regards as equally inapplicable be-
tween nations, and says: "The command, 'Love thy
neighbor as thyself,' cannot be applied here. The
state is so far from turning the left cheek to him who
strikes the right, that on the contrary, it does and must
endeavor to anticipate even a threatened blow with an
energetic counter stroke. . . . In short, the en-
tire chapter of the duties of love, which is the chief
doctrine of the moral law, has no application to the con-

duct of the state. A nation depends, not upon the love of others, but upon the love of self, upon the fostering and development of its own power and prosperity; and if we characterize this by the term 'egoism'—a term indeed that is scarcely applicable—then egoism certainly is the foundation of all politics."

The practical truth of this will scarcely be disputed. This theory of the relation of politics and the moral law is carried into internal as well as international politics in the most practical way. If somebody would only weave a theory showing that party machines have no relation to the moral law, and should not be held accountable to it, what a relief would come over some of our statesmen. What a burden would be lifted from the president for broken promises and from the politicians for their buying and selling offices and coercing citizens out of their political rights. Fortunately, however, there is no such easy way of escape. The Platts, Quiggs and Quays are held to some accountability to the moral law by the people, and, although the people are patient and long-suffering in their endurance, they occasionally call for an accounting and deal out the penalty with cumulative effect, and at bottom the people are right. They really stand on the moral law, and this applies to nations as well as individuals within the nation. It is poor philosophy and immoral statesmanship which puts a nation in its administrative capacity above the decalogue and outside the moral law.

Stealing is a crime by whomsoever committed. It is as wrong for a nation to plunder its neighbor, merely because the aggressor has superior strength or because it thinks its neighbor might plunder it, as it is for an individual to commit burglary. This doctrine that nations have no moral obligations is born of barbarism in defence of the carnage and plunder of predatory society. It is indeed true that a nation cannot be ordered to obey

the moral injunction like an individual, since there is no stronger authority except a more forceful nation, but this does not remove the moral obligation to refrain from plunder, carnage and murder. The authority for the state is the people and the people should insist upon equity and fair treatment of neighboring nations, and regard for the rights of others who are too weak to defend themselves against the strong should be a controlling motive in the action of governments as much as of individuals.

The difference between the American troops and those of Russia, Germany and other European countries in China is a striking illustration of this fact. The idea that politics has no relation to the moral law is altogether too prevalent. It is unconsciously taken advantage of to excuse conduct in politics that would not be tolerated in business or social life. When office-holders at the behest of politicians pack primaries, coerce delegates, corrupt legislatures and trample on the rights of citizens, it is commonly excused by otherwise respectable people with the remark, "Oh, that's politics." Until it becomes a recognized principle that politics not only have a relation to but rest upon the moral law, and that the conduct of national administrations as well as of individual citizens is strictly measured by that standard, politics may be expected to be corrupt and dishonorable and public service tainted with discredit.

ENGLISH POLITICS IN EARLY VIRGINIA HISTORY.
By Alexander Brown, D. C. L. Cloth, 277 pp., \$2.00.
1901. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

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The Political Economy of Humanism. By Henry Wood, author of "The Political Economy of Natural Law. 12mo, 319 pp., paper 50 cents, cloth, \$1.25. Lee & Shepard, Boston.

The Measurement of General Exchange-Value. By Correa Moylan Walsh. Cloth, 580 pp., \$3. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Hall of Fame. By Chancellor H. M. MacCracken, of New York University. Cloth, 8vo, \$1.75. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Fully illustrated.

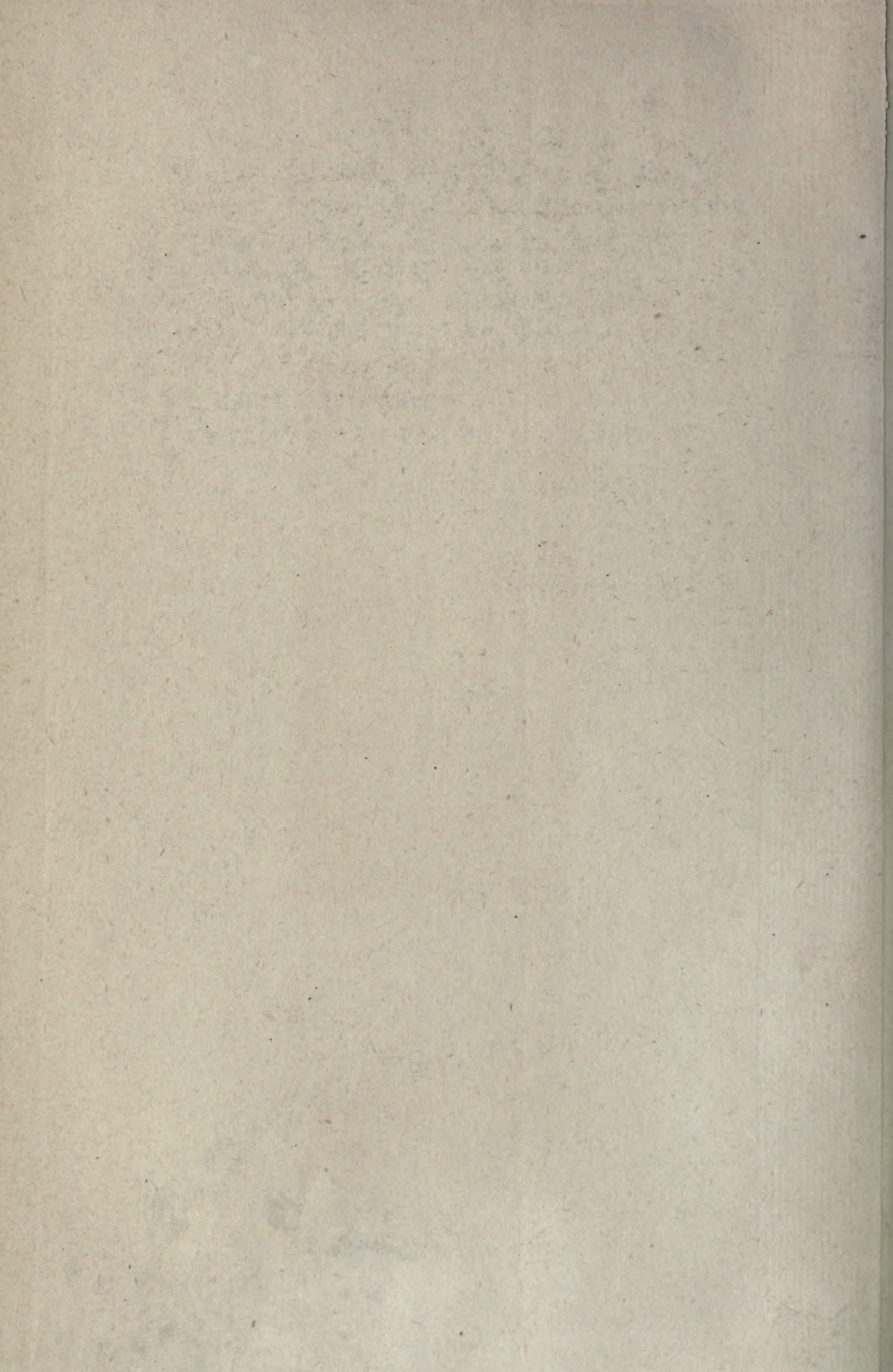
FROM MAY MAGAZINES

"In reality, he who runs may read more of the spirit of Jeffersonian democracy in the Chicago and Kansas City platforms than can be found in any other platform of the democratic party. Furthermore, in his political beginnings, when he knew or had read little else, Mr. Bryan crammed himself with lessons from Jefferson's life and was an ostentatious disciple of that eminent radical. Indeed, it is precisely this quality of Jeffersonism in Mr. Bryan and his platforms which is offensive to the conservative or old-school democracy. It was left to Bryanism to illustrate the fact, which the Bourbon democracy does not even yet comprehend, that Jeffersonian democracy is quite out of joint with the times. If Jefferson should come back now to the country whose political institutions and polity he so largely shaped and inspired, he would meet the same sort of a reception, as, in Mr. Stead's opinion, would be given in Chicago to his great forerunner as a social leveller." —ALBERT WATKINS, in "Bryanism and Jeffersonian Democracy;" *The Forum*.

"In our municipal government at present there is a great and wholesome struggle toward a higher and better order of things. This vigorous movement takes many different forms, four or five of which may be noted very especially. The first of these, and in some ways the most important, is the general movement toward better principles and methods in the technical organization of a municipal government. A little inquiry shows that municipal reform in the United States is proceeding upon the whole very hopefully; and it is truly remarkable how rapid of late has been the growth of the sentiment in favor of non-partisanship in municipal elections and appointments. Many men who only four or five years ago were strict republicans or demo-

crats even in local elections, are now avowedly with the independents where municipal matters are involved. Thus, it was the independent vote that turned the scale in Chicago and elected Carter Harrison again, although if the republicans had nominated John M. Harlan, as it was at first supposed they would do, they would probably have carried the day by virtue of non-partisan support."—"The Progress of the World;" *Review of Reviews*.

" 'The problem of the unemployed in America is a problem of the distribution of workers,' taking them from regions where many men are looking for a job, to other regions, where many jobs are looking for a man. But it would be a shallow truth, with little insight into the real condition of multitudes, whose life-struggle is for a day's bread and in whom the gregarious instinct is an irresistible gravitation. It is not difficult to show that the congestion in an industrial center, with its accompanying misery, might be relieved by an exodus to country districts, where an unsatisfied demand for hands is chronic. But the human adjustment involved in the change would be beyond all calculation; and, even were they effected, it would be not a little disturbing in the end to find large numbers returning to the town, frankly preferring want with companionship and a sense of being in touch with their time to the comparative plenty and, with it, the loneliness and isolation of country living. A part of the penalty that one pays for attempting to deal with elements so fascinating as those of human nature is in their very incalculability, in the elusive charm of men who develop the best that is in them in spite of circumstances the most adverse, and in an evasive quality in others who sometimes fail to respond to the best-devised plans for their betterment."—WALTER A. WYCKOFF, in "With Iowa Farmers;" *Scribner's Magazine*.



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